

THE
REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

NO. 4.—OCTOBER, 1889.

I.

THE THEOLOGY OF ZWINGLI.

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- I. ZWINGLI: *Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione*, 1525 (German translation by Leo Judæ); *Fidei Ratio ad Carolum V.*, 1530; *Christianæ Fidei brevis et clara Expositio*, 1531; *De Providentia*, 1530 (expansion of a sermon preached at Marburg, 1529, and dedicated to Philip of Hesse).
- II. The theology of Zwingli is discussed by ZELLER, SIGWART, SPÖRRI, SCHWEIZER, and most fully and exhaustively by A. BAUR. Comp. SCHAFF, *Creeds of Christendom*, I. 369 sqq., and *Church History*, vol. VI. 721 sqq.

THE dogmatic works of Zwingli contain the germs of the evangelical Reformed theology, in distinction from the Roman and the Lutheran, and at the same time several original features which separate it from the Calvinistic system. He accepted with all the Reformers the œcumenical creeds and the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity, and the divine-human personality of Christ. He rejected with Luther the scholastic additions of the middle ages, but removed further from the tra-

ditional theology in the doctrine of the sacraments and the real presence. He was less logical and severe than Calvin, who surpassed him in constructive genius, classical diction and rhetorical finish. He drew his theology from the New Testament and the humanistic culture of the Erasmian type. His humanistic education accounts for his liberal views on the terms of salvation by which he differs from the other Reformers. It might have brought him nearer to Melanchthon; but Melanchthon was under the overawing influence of Luther, and strongly prejudiced against Zwingli. He was free from traditional bondage, and in several respects in advance of his age.

Zwingli's theology is a system of rational supernaturalism, more clear than profound, devoid of mysticism, but simple, sober and practical. It is prevaillingly soteriological, that is, a doctrine of the way of salvation, and rested on these fundamental principles: The Bible is the only sure directory of salvation (which excludes or subordinates human traditions); Christ is the only Saviour and Mediator between God and men (which excludes human mediators and the worship of saints); Christ is the only head of the Church visible and invisible (against the claims of the pope); the operation of the Holy Spirit and saving grace are not confined to the visible Church (which breaks with the principle of exclusiveness).

1. Zwingli emphasizes the Word of God contained in the Bible, especially in the New Testament, as the only rule of Christian faith and practice. This is the objective principle of Protestantism which controls his whole theology. Zwingli first clearly and strongly proclaimed it in his *Conclusions* (1523), and assigned to it the first place in his system; while Luther put his doctrine of justification by faith, or the subjective principle in the foreground, and made it the article of the standing or falling Church. But with both Reformers the two principles so-called resolve themselves into the one principle of Christ, the only and sufficient source of saving truth and saving grace, against the traditions of men and the works

of men. Christ is before the Bible, and is the beginning and end of the Bible. Evangelical Christians believe in the Bible because they believe in Christ, and not *vice versa*. Roman Catholics believe in the Bible because they believe in the Church, as the custodian and infallible interpreter of the Bible.

As to the extent of the Bible, or the number of inspired books, Zwingli accepted the Catholic Canon, with the exception of the Apocalypse, which he did not regard as an apostolic work, and hence did not use for doctrinal purposes.* Calvin doubted the genuineness of the Second Epistle of Peter and the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Both accepted the Canon on the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit, rather than the external authority of the Church. Luther, on the one hand, insisted in the eucharistic controversy on the most literal interpretation of the words of institution against all arguments of grammar and reason; and yet, on the other hand, he exercised the boldest subjective criticism on several books of the Old and New Testaments, especially the Epistle of James and the Epistle to the Hebrews, because he could not harmonize them with his understanding of Paul's doctrine of justification. He thus became the forerunner of the higher or literary criticism which claims the Protestant right of the fullest investigation of all that pertains to the origin, history and value of the Scriptures. The Reformed Churches, especially those of the English tongue, while claiming the same right, are more cautious and conservative in the exercise of it; they lay greater stress on the objective revelation of God than the subjective experience of man, and on historic evidence than on critical conjectures.

2. The doctrine of eternal election and providence. Zwingli, anticipating Calvin, gives prominence to election as the primary source of salvation. He developed his view in a Latin

* He missed in it both the style and the genius of St. John. "*Non sapit os et ingenium Joannis.*" In this wrong judgment on the Apocalypse Zwingli and Luther agreed.

sermon, or theological discourse, on Divine Providence, at the Conference of Marburg, in October, 1529, and enlarged and published it afterwards at Zurich (Aug. 20, 1530), at the special request of Philip of Hesse.* Luther heard the discourse, and had no objection to it, except that he disliked the Greek and Hebrew quotations, as being out of place in the pulpit. Calvin, in a familiar letter to Bullinger, justly called the essay paradoxical and immoderate. It is certainly more paradoxical than orthodox, and contains some unguarded expressions and questionable illustrations; yet it does not go beyond Luther's book on the slavery of the human will, and the first edition of Melancthon's *Loci*, or Calvin's more mature and careful statements. All the Reformers were originally strong Augustinian predestinarians, and denied the liberty of the human will. Augustin and Luther proceeded from anthropological premises, namely, the total depravity of man, and came to the doctrine of predestination as a logical consequence, but laid greater stress on sacramental grace. Zwingli, anticipating Calvin, started from the theological principle of the absolute sovereignty of God, and the identity of foreknowledge and foreordination. His Scripture argument is chiefly drawn from the ninth chapter of Romans, which, indeed, strongly teaches the freedom of election,† but should never be divorced from the tenth chapter, which teaches with equal clearness human responsibility, and from the eleventh chapter, which prophesies the future conversion of the Gentile nations and the people of Israel.

Zwingli does not shrink from the abyss of supralapsarian-

* *Ad illustrissimum Cattorum Principem Philippum Sermonis de Providentia Dei anamema.* In *Opera*, vol. IV. 79-144. Leo Judæ published a German translation in 1531.

† P. 114: "*Nos cum Paulo in hac sententia sumus, ut prædestinatio libera sit, citra omnem respectum bene aut male factorum.*" He refers especially to what Paul says about God hardening Pharaoh's heart, and hating Esau and loving Jacob before they were born. But this has reference to their position in history, and not to their eternal salvation or perdition.

ism. God, he teaches, is the supreme and only good, and the omnipotent cause of all things. He rules and administers the world by his perpetual and immutable providence, which leaves no room for accidents. Even the fall of Adam, with its consequences, is included in his eternal will as well as his eternal knowledge. So far sin is necessary, but only as a means to redemption. God's agency in respect to sin is free from sin, since he is not bound by law, and has no bad motive or affection.* Election is free and independent; it is not conditioned by faith, but includes faith.† Salvation is possible without baptism, but not without Christ. We are elected in order that we may believe in Christ and bring forth the fruits of holiness. Only those who hear and reject the gospel in unbelief are foreordained to eternal punishment. Children of Christian parents who die in infancy are included among the elect, whether baptized or not, and their early death before they have committed any actual sin is a sure proof of their election.‡ Of those outside the Church we cannot judge but may entertain a charitable hope, as God's grace is not bound.

* *De Providentia Dei* (p. 113): "*Impulit Deus [latronem] ut occideret; sed æque impellit judicem, ut percussorem justitiæ mactet. Et qui impellit, agit sine omni criminis suspitione; non enim est sub lege. Qui vero impellitur, tam abest ut sit alienus a crimine, ut nullam fere rem gerat sine aliqua labis aspergine, quia sub lege est.*" Myconius defends the same view by the illustration of the magistracy taking a man's life without committing murder. Melancthon traced (1521) the adultery and murder of David and the treason of Judas to the Divine impulse; but he abandoned afterwards (1535) this Stoic figment of fatalism.

† P. 121: "*Fides iis datur, qui ad vitam eternam electi et ordinati sunt; sic tamen ut electio antecedit, et fides velut symbolum electionem sequatur. Sic enim habet Paulus Rom. 8: 29.*"

‡ He reasons thus: Nothing separates us from God but sin. Children have not committed actual sin; Christ has expiated for original sin; consequently children of Christian parents, about whom we have an express promise, are certainly among the elect if they are taken away in infancy. "*Defungi in illis electionis signum est perinde ac fides in adultis. Qui reprobi sunt et a Deo repudiati, in hoc statu innocentie non moriuntur, sed divina providentia servantur ut repudiatio illorum criminosa vita notetur.*"

In this direction Zwingli was more liberal than any Reformer, and opened a new path. St. Augustin moderated the rigor of the doctrine of predestination by the doctrine of baptismal regeneration and the hypothesis of future purification. Zwingli moderated it by extending the divine revelation and the working of the Holy Spirit beyond the boundaries of the visible Church and the ordinary means of grace.

It is very easy to caricature the doctrine of predestination, and to dispose of it by the plausible objections that it teaches the necessity of sin, that it leads to fatalism and pantheism, that it supersedes the necessity of personal effort for growth in grace, and encourages carnal security. But every one who knows history at all knows also that the strongest predestinarians were among the most earnest and active Christians. It will be difficult to find purer and holier men than St. Augustin and Calvin, the chief champions of this very system which bears their name. The personal assurance of election fortified the Reformers, the Huguenots, the Puritans and the Covenanters against doubt and despondency in times of trial and temptation. In this personal application, the Reformed doctrine of predestination is in advance of that of Augustin. Moreover, every one who has some perception of the metaphysical difficulties of reconciling the fact of sin with the wisdom and holiness of God, and harmonizing the demands of logic and of conscience, will judge mildly of any earnest attempt at the solution of the apparent conflict of divine sovereignty and human responsibility.

And yet we must say that the Reformers, following the lead of the great saint of Hippo, went to a one-sided extreme. Melancthon felt this, and proposed the system of synergism, which is akin to the semi-Pelagian and Arminian theories. Œcolampadius kept within the limits of Christian experience, and expressed it in the sound sentence, "*Salus nostra ex Deo, perditio nostra ex nobis.*" We must always keep in mind both the divine and the human, the speculative and the practical aspects of this problem of ages; in other words, we must com-

bine divine sovereignty and human responsibility as complementary truths. There is a moral as well as an intellectual logic,—a logic of the heart and conscience as well as a logic of the head. The former must keep the latter in check, and keep it from running into supralapsarianism, and at last into fatalism and pantheism, which is just as bad as Pelagianism.

3. Original sin and guilt. Here Zwingli departed from the Augustinian and Catholic system, and prepared the way for Arminian and Socinian opinions. He was far from denying the terrible curse of the fall and the fact of original sin; but he regarded original sin as a calamity, a disease, a natural defect, which involves no personal guilt, and is not punishable until it reveals itself in actual transgression. It is, however, the fruitful germ of actual sin, as the inborn rapacity of the wolf will in due time tear the sheep.*

4. The doctrine of the sacraments, and especially of the Lord's Supper, is the most characteristic feature of the Zwinglian, as distinct from the Lutheran, theology. Calvin's theory stands between the two, and tries to combine the Lutheran realism with the Zwinglian spiritualism. This subject has been sufficiently handled by the writer in other places.†

5. Eschatology. Here again Zwingli departed further from Augustin and mediæval theology than any other Reformer, and anticipated modern opinions. He believed (with the Anabaptists) in the salvation of infants dying in infancy, whether baptized or not. He believed also in the salvation of those heathen who loved truth and righteousness in this life, and were, so to say, unconscious Christians, or pre-Christian Christians. This is closely connected with his humanistic liberal-

* He describes original sin in Latin as *defectus naturalis* and *conditio misera*, in German as a *Brest* or *Gebrechen*, i.e. disease. He compares it to the misfortune of one born in slavery. He explains his view more fully in his tract, *De peccato originali ad Urbanum Rhesium*, 1526, and in his Confession to Charles V.

† See his *Church History*, vol. VI. 620 sqq., and *Creeds of Christendom* vol. I. 372-377.

ism and enthusiasm for the ancient classics. He admired the wisdom and the virtue of the Greeks and Romans, and expected to meet in heaven, together with the saints of the Old Testament from Adam down to John the Baptist, such men as Socrates, Plato, Pindar, Aristides, Numa, Cato, Scipio, Seneca; yea, even such mythical characters as Hercules and Theseus. There is, he says, no good and holy man, no faithful soul, from the beginning to the end of the world, that shall not see God in His glory.*

Zwingli made salvation depend upon the sovereign grace of God, who can save whom, where, and how He pleases, and who is not bound to any visible means. But he had no idea of teaching salvation without Christ and His atonement, as he is often misunderstood and misrepresented. "Christ," he says (in the third of his Conclusions), "is the only wisdom, righteousness, redemption and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. Hence it is a denial of Christ when we confess another ground of salvation and satisfaction." He does not say (and did not know) where, when and how Christ is revealed to the unbaptized subjects of His saving grace: this is hidden from mortal eyes; but we have no right to set boundaries to the infinite wisdom and love of God.

The Roman Catholic Church teaches the necessity of baptism for salvation, and assigns all heathen to hell and all unbaptized children to the *limbus infantum* (a border region of hell, alike removed from burning pain and heavenly bliss). Lutheran divines, who accept the same baptismal theory, must consistently exclude the unbaptized from beatitude, or leave them to the uncovenanted mercy of God. Zwingli and Calvin

* He often speaks on this subject in his epistles, commentaries, the tract on Providence, and most confidently at the close of his Exposition of the Christian Faith, addressed to the king of France. See the passages in Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, I. 382, and A. Baur, *l.c.* II. 772. Comp. also Zeller, *Zwingli's Theol.*, p. 163; Alex. Schweizer, *Reform. Glaubenslehre*, II. 10 sq.; Dorner, *Gesch. der protest. Theol.*, p. 284. Dorner, with his usual fairness, vindicates Zwingli against misrepresentations by Roman Catholic and Lutheran writers.

made salvation depend on eternal election, which may be indefinitely extended beyond the visible Church and the sacraments. The Scotch Presbyterian Confession condemns the "horrible dogma" of the papacy concerning the damnation of unbaptized infants. The Westminster Confession teaches that "elect infants dying in infancy," and "other elect persons" outside of the visible Church, "are saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, where and how He pleaseth." *

The old Protestant eschatology is deficient. It rejects the papal dogma of purgatory, and gives nothing better in its place. It confounds Hades with Hell (in the authorized translations of the Bible †), and obliterates the distinction between the middle state before and the final state after the resurrection. The Romish purgatory gives relief in regard to the fate of imperfect Christians, but none in regard to the infinitely greater number of unbaptized infants and adults. Zwingli opened the way for more charitable and hopeful views concerning the mysterious condition of souls between death and the final judgment.

His charitable hope of the salvation of infants dying in infancy and of an indefinite number of heathen is a renewal and enlargement of the view held by the ancient Greek Fathers (Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa). It was adopted by the Baptists, Arminians, Quakers, Methodists, and is now held by the great majority of Protestant divines of all denominations.

* Comp. on this subject Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, I. 378-384.

† This serious error is corrected in the Revised Version of 1881.

II.

THE HUGUENOTS.

BY REV. J. H. DUBBS, D.D.

THE Reformation of the sixteenth century was, in one of its aspects, a movement for the emancipation of the Teutonic nations. Dean Milman has remarked that, "wherever the groundwork of the language was Teutonic, Protestantism became dominant; wherever it was Romanic or Celtic, the Roman Catholic Church retained her ascendancy." The cause may be hard to explain, but it must undoubtedly be sought in the character of the several races. It certainly does not seem to have depended on the general diffusion of education and culture, for in these respects the Teutonic nations were far inferior to the Romanic. The former had as yet produced few men of letters who could be at all compared with Dante, Petrarch or Boccaccio; no painters or sculptors like Raphael or Michael Angelo. Possibly they lacked the culture, or even the artistic sense, which might have enabled them to appreciate the splendor of the Roman ritual, which even Protestants have declared to be the grandest service ever consecrated to the worship of God. On the other hand, the Romanic nations were lacking in elements which, to the Teutonic mind, appeared fundamental. There was in the German nature a peculiar sense of honesty, which recoiled from religious professions which did not influence the daily conduct of those who made them. They shrank from the dualism of those who exalted God by the most elaborate ritual, and yet showed by their lives that they cherished the moral corruptions of ancient Rome. To this day, as Goethe intimates, the Germans cannot understand the character of such

a man as Benvenuto Cellini, as he has himself portrayed it in his autobiography: a soul full of the grandest religious ideals—a man believing himself under special divine protection, and blessed with spiritual revelations of the highest order—and yet indulging habitually in the vilest forms of lust, and even guilty of murder. The Romanic nations cherished ideals of piety, self-sacrifice and devotion of the most exalted character, but they were the ideals of the cloister. Possibly that author was right who first suggested that, in religion as well as in nature, the South has equally produced the most luscious fruits and the most acrid poisons.

France, the fairest of the lands of Europe, lies between the North and South, between the Teuton and the Roman and Celt. Its population was originally composed of many tribes, and even now at least six languages are spoken within its borders. Leaving out of the question the minor elements, Breton, Gascon, Landes and Basque, the great body of the people, whether *Langue-d'oc* or *Langue-d'oïl*, are of Celtic extraction, though thoroughly Romanized in the days of the empire; but the ruling classes, the old nobility, ever since the days of Clovis, have been remotely of German descent. The warp is Celto-Roman, the woof is Teutonic. It was, therefore, but natural that in the struggle of the races the contrast between them became more evident than elsewhere; that there were two decided tendencies: one which adhered to Rome, and another which recoiled from it.

It is in no way to the discredit of a religious movement to assert that its success is in a certain degree dependent upon secular conditions. This is the ordinary course of history. In Germany, the way for the Reformation had been prepared by the long conflicts of Guelph and Ghibbeline. If there was anything which the Princes of Germany could not patiently endure, it was the divided allegiance of their subjects. The dispute concerning investitures was, therefore, not a mere monkish quarrel. It involved the question of the appointment of bishops who, though possibly of the humblest descent, were

practically princes, owing their first allegiance to a foreign power, and protected from the imperial authority by the sanctity of their order.

In England the state of affairs had been very similar. From the days of Thomas A'Becket the rapidly-increasing power of Rome had been a constant source of trouble to the reigning monarch. In the reaction which followed the murder of that bold prelate, England had even been declared a fief of the Roman See. The quarrel of Henry VIII. with Rome precipitated the final convulsion, but it had deeper roots in the striving of the house of Tudor for supreme power. The Reformation in England was far less a popular movement than it was in Germany.

France and Scotland had been for a long time closely allied, and in these two countries we find similar political conditions. A powerful nobility, closely related by ties of blood to the king, whom they practically regarded as one of their number, and whose political acts they assumed to direct; a king whose chief purpose it was to strengthen the royal power, and who, therefore, maintained a close alliance with the ecclesiastical authorities, in the hope of gaining popular support in his conflict with the nobility. The chief difference was, that in Scotland, in consequence of the clan system, the people believed themselves personally related to their chiefs, and, therefore, adhered to them in their struggle with royalty; while in France the nobles were socially separated from the people by an impassable chasm, and unless temporarily allied with them by some tie of common religious or political interest, could in times of conflict depend only upon their personal retainers. The Scotch, under the influence of their chieftains, were, therefore disposed to accept the doctrine which denied the supremacy of the see of Rome; while the French of the humbler classes regarded the king as their protector against the increasing power of the nobles, and were only too well pleased that his hands should be strengthened by a Papal alliance. In each instance, it need hardly be said, the majority finally triumphed.

The nobles of France, in their opposition to royal absolutism, were encouraged by the sympathy of the cities. Paris, of course, regarded its prosperity as dependent upon the favor of the king, but elsewhere his policy was observed with genuine alarm. The great fiefs were gradually called in—Brittany was declared an integral part of the kingdom—and the charters of the cities situated in the crown provinces were in many instances annulled. In these cities a new class—the *bourgeoisie*—was coming to the front. It included all the untitled orders above the rank of peasant, and was far more intelligent than the aristocracy itself. It is here that we behold the first rays of the great *eclaircissement* which a century later became the wonder of the world. The nobles, of course, despised the citizens. At a much later date, we remember, a great nobleman exclaimed at a meeting of the States General: "The relation of *our* order to the third estate is precisely like that of a gentleman to his valet." Still, the two orders had this in common, that they dreaded the increasing power of the king, which they believed involved the destruction of their ancient privileges. To both the Reformation promised assistance, and by both it was heartily welcomed. We do not mean to say, as has sometimes been asserted, that the Reformation in France was mainly a political movement, and least of all to cast doubt upon the religious zeal and enthusiasm of the great nobles who appeared as its champions; but simply to express the conviction that political conditions had prepared the channels through which the advancing current of Protestantism naturally found its way. It was not, as M. Weiss has termed it, "an external alliance of religious enthusiasts with a factious nobility;" but it was, nevertheless, a mingling of elements which finally proved fatal to the cause of Protestantism in France.

The term Huguenot is certainly more applicable to the political than to the religious side of the coalition. It dates from the Tumult of Amboise in 1560, and is a mere nickname whose origin it is now impossible to determine. Possibly, it may be derived from the intimate relations of the French Pro-

testants to the Swiss, who have always called themselves Eidgenossen. The word Eidgenos might naturally be corrupted into "Huguenot." Or, again, it may have been intended to indicate opposition to the House of Guise, who claimed to be the heirs of Charlemagne, by declaring the loyalty of the Protestants to the House of Valois, the descendants of Hugh Capet. Or, possibly, the party may have been called after "Le Roi Hugo," the traditional hobgoblin of France, because of the ghostly character of their meetings; or they may have been named after the gate of Hugo, at Tours, where their early assemblies were wont to be made. It has ever been asserted that there was once a diminutive coin known as a *Huguenot*, and that the appellation as applied to the Reformed arose from the fact that they were supposed by their enemies to be not worth a farthing. Every one of these derivations is plausible, and might be satisfactory if it were not for the multitude of rival claimants. Under the circumstances we may, perhaps, be excused if we suspend our judgment, and prefer to regard this partisan name as one with whose original import but few persons besides its inventor were ever acquainted. Its use has, however, been so generally applied that we do not hesitate to employ it on the present occasion, though the Protestants of France have from an early period called themselves simply *the Reformed Church*—a name which was subsequently adopted by the churches of Switzerland, Holland and the Rhine provinces of Germany. In the present brief sketch of the Huguenots we shall venture to follow the example of the old historians of Greece by considering, 1, the Rise; 2, the Glory; and 3, the Fall.

D'Aubigne is undoubtedly right in asserting that in a certain sense the Reformed Church of France was of indigenous origin, though it was not until more than forty years after Luther and Zwingli inaugurated the Reformation that French Protestantism came to be seriously regarded as an important element in the life of the nation. During all that period, it should be remembered, France occupied a position which rendered it doubt-

ful whether or not it would maintain its allegiance to Rome. For centuries its theologians had been loudest in their call for a reformation *in capite et membris*. Here such men as John Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly and the abbots of St. Victor had lifted up their voices in behalf of the righteousness to which the age had almost become a stranger. The church had constantly insisted upon Gallican liberties, and there was little of the tyranny which in other countries had taught the people to hate its priesthood. France had never forgotten the days of Philippe Bel, when for seventy years, during the so-called Babylonish captivity, the Pope dwelt at Avignon, and the kings of France dictated the policy of the papal court. At first, therefore, all France seemed to sympathize with the Reformation, and when, as early as 1512, Lefevre des Etaples began to deliver sledgehammer blows against the papal hierarchy, the first result was a shout of laughter. It became the fashion to ridicule priests and monks, and the literature of the times is filled to overflowing with absurd stories concerning their stupidity and lewdness, after the manner of Boccaccio. The court was full of the spirit of Protestantism before any one suspected it. Margaret of Anjou, the king's sister, was all her life long a patroness of literature, and in her later years the protector of the persecuted Protestants. For the king's amusement she is said to have composed the collection of stories which is known as the *Hep-tameron*, though a strong claim has been advanced in behalf of one of her secretaries. As for Francis himself, he was a typical Frenchman. His great enemy, Charles V., had called him "an overgrown boy," but on many a battle-field he proved himself every inch a man. A splendid soldier, he knew how to pluck victory out of the jaws of defeat; humbled to the dust, he sprang up like Antæus, and grew stronger by the fall; fond of gayety, he gathered around him the most brilliant court in Christendom; loose in morals, he inaugurated the long line of untitled Queens of France, who for two hundred years ruled the land and ruled it for evil; a munificent patron of art, he despised the priests, whom he called "the men of darkness."

Yet stronger than his love of personal distinction, stronger than his life-long hatred of the emperor of Germany, stronger than his love of pleasure, was his passion for the aggrandizement of the royal power in France. At first he was rather favorably disposed to the new doctrines, but when the Sorbonne in 1521 issued a declaration against the doctrines of Luther, he became convinced that the French people would not unanimously accept the Reformation, and therefore issued an edict which absolutely forbade the practice of new forms of religion. It was at this period he uttered his famous dictum, "One king, one law, one faith." Possibly, the Protestants were themselves to blame for some of their subsequent persecutions. Young men of the highest rank paraded the streets in companies, singing Protestant psalms. Placards, in which the mass was denounced in the most violent language, were affixed to the walls of public buildings, and one morning one of these was found attached to the door of the king's bed-chamber. The king was thoroughly alarmed, and it was easy for the Pope's legate to persuade him that a change of faith must necessarily involve a change in the royal dynasty. The influence of his sister could no longer restrain him, and at his direction a number of Protestants were executed under circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. When the princes of Germany remonstrated with him for his conduct, he replied that "he had felt constrained to punish certain rebels, who, under the mask of religion, had sought to conceal their antipathy to the royal government." The cause of Protestantism was now greatly depressed. Briconet, bishop of Meaux, withdrew from the work which he had hitherto encouraged. Farel and Viretus fled to Switzerland, and converted the French cantons by the power of their wonderful eloquence. Those who remained in France met in secret places, and organized congregations under the guise of literary societies, calling them by such fanciful titles as the Rose, the Lily, the Vine and the Olive. At the court the adherents of the new doctrines were compelled to keep quiet, but their faith became evident by the earnestness and solemnity of their

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conduct. The utter worthlessness of the ruling classes had, indeed, caused a reaction, in which many of the nobles participated, which led some of them to the extreme of repudiating all forms of social amusement. There seemed, indeed, to be no way of escaping from universal wickedness but by voluntarily renouncing the pleasures of the world.

In the persecutions which ensued there was something mean and contemptible in the fact that the court, for the purpose of showing that it was really in earnest, aimed its most violent blows, not at the great nobles of France, but at a little colony of Waldenses, survivors of the crusade of Innocent III., who dwelt on the barren highlands between Nice and Avignon. Protestant from time immemorial, they had, at the Synod of Famagusta in 1531, become formally united with the Reformed Church of Switzerland, and had at their own expense published the earliest French translation of the Bible. For their acts they were singled out as a mark of royal displeasure, and at the moment when they least expected it, the fiercest soldiery of the kingdom were let loose upon them. It was but the beginning of a series of acts which for pure atrocity are unequalled in the history of the world.

At the period of the deepest depression a book appeared which created a profound sensation. It was almost immediately recognized as the greatest literary achievement of the century. In the introduction the anonymous author appealed to the king to have mercy upon his Protestant subjects, and then in the body of the work presented a complete and systematic exposition of their faith, which had been constantly and persistently misrepresented. Concerning this work, Michelet says: "If the act was bold, no less so was the style. The French language was then an unknown tongue; yet here, twenty years after Comines, thirty years before Montaigne, we have already the language of Rousseau, his power if not his charm. But the most formidable attribute of the volume is its penetrating clearness, its brilliance—of steel rather than of silver; a blade which shines but cuts. One sees that the light

comes from within, from the depth of the conscience—from a spirit rigorously convinced, of which logic is the food. One feels that the author gives nothing to appearance—that he labors to find a solid argument upon which he can live, and if need be, die." Need we say that this work was the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and that its author was John Calvin?

It is useless to relate the particulars of the career of such a man as Calvin. His is one of the great personalities which may be hated, but cannot be ignored. It is curious, however, that concerning his early history so little is actually known. Documents are said to have been recently discovered which show that his parents were Protestants, and that his conversion was not so sudden as has hitherto been supposed. However this may be, it is certain that at the very moment when the Protestant cause appeared to be lost he—the most brilliant scholar of his age—possibly the finest lawyer of any age—came forward and assumed to be its champion. Voluntarily he put aside the dreams of glory which are characteristic of his people; rejecting the wealth and dignity which lay open to his grasp, to wander about in poverty, to dwell in caves or trackless forests, venturing to come forth only at midnight, to preach to a little company whose condition was hardly better than his own. Escaping at last to Geneva all the world knows how he there solved Lanfranc's celebrated problem: "How to make a small state great." There for nearly thirty years he reigned, an uncrowned king, directing the ecclesiastical and even the civil policy of many nations, and laboring so constantly that as Beza says, "He had no time to look up to the light of the blessed sun."

Calvin is generally regarded as a cold, stern man who had little room in his nature for those tender affections which are the solace of life. No doubt he was a fierce controversialist, but if he was so cold and unimpressive, why was it that Theodore Beza, who was a distinguished poet, with a keen appreciation of all that is beautiful and sweet, loved that stern man

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with more than filial affection? What made Melanchthon say of him "he wished he could lay his weary head upon that faithful heart and die there?" What induced Titian, the painter, to seek him in Geneva and sit at his feet in reverent affection? How was it that the light-hearted duchess, Renée of Ferrara, and the more quiet but not less worldly Margaret of Angouleme, turned from a career of fashionable dissipation to listen humbly to that stern preacher of righteousness? Why was it, above all, that the great nobles of France,—Bourbon, Châtillon, Rohan, Soubise, Montmorency,—confessed that they loved him with the affection of sons?

With the theological system which is known as Calvinism we have little to do on the present occasion. It is enough to remark that though it has become unpopular in certain localities, it was not so regarded in the days of the Reformation. On the subject of the divine decrees Calvin had no controversy with the other Reformers. Even the Church of Rome did not at that time venture to declare him heretical on the doctrine of the sovereignty of God. His system was in fact a development of that of St. Augustine, which had been current for centuries. Its ruling principle, as Calvin himself expressed it, was the utter destruction of all human glory that God might be all in all. Such a system could not fail to produce heroes; and it cannot be doubted that in France, no less than in Scotland, it grandly fulfilled its promise.

In treating such a theme as the Rise of the Huguenots in the space accorded us, we must necessarily confine ourselves to the common-places of history. After Francis I., it will be remembered, his son, Henry II., ascended the throne; but during his whole reign Diana of Poitiers was the actual ruler of France. His legitimate queen, Catharine de Medici, was content to remain in the background, biding her time, subtle Italian as she was. Diana, says a recent historian, persecuted the Protestants in the spirit of Herodias, because they reproved her unrighteous living. It was for her a pleasant task to distribute the confiscated estates of her victims to her worthless

favorites; but very much to her disgust it was only in the crown provinces that such proceedings were possible—the great nobles resisting her at every step. At last her rule was ended by the death of the king, who was killed, in a tournament, by a Scotch nobleman, with whom he had insisted on breaking a lance. The throne was then held for a few years by each of his three sons,—Francis II., Charles IX. and Henry III.,—but during all this period the supreme power was held by their mother, the notorious Catherine de Medici. Unless she is greatly calumniated she was one of the most wicked women that ever lived, and it is believed by some historians that two, at least, of her royal sons were murdered at her instigation, because they sought to free themselves from her control. Her ruling passion was the love of power, and to maintain it she would have sacrificed any person who stood in her way without a moment's hesitation. It was difficult, indeed, to hold her position, for it was evident that the house of Valois was in danger of becoming extinct, and the great families of the realm were already contending for the succession. Let a few of these pass across the stage in the persons of their leading representatives.

Next to the royal house stood the Princes of the House of Bourbon, descended from the sixth son of St. Louis (Louis IX.), who married Beatrix, the heiress of the barony of Bourbon. The history of this family is almost equivalent to the history of France since the days of the crusaders. The head of the house at this time was Antoine de Bourbon, who by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, the daughter of Margaret of Anjou, had become king of Navarre. He had become a Protestant, but his disposition was so weak and vacillating that he constantly injured the religion which he professed to defend. More sincere and steadfast was his younger brother, Louis, Prince of Conde—a typical child of the South; gay, gallant, fond of pleasure, he was yet chivalrously honorable, and devotedly attached to the cause which he had espoused. When days of trouble came he fought with heroic valor; when his

enemies offered bribes he simply laughed at them. Grandest of all the house was Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, the heroine of Rochelle, the mother of Henry IV. She it was who, while her son was still in his minority, assumed command of the Huguenot forces and led them on to victory. When Catherine told her that to preserve the kingdom for her son it was her duty to be reconciled with Rome, she exclaimed with passionate vehemence: "Madame, if at this very moment I held my son and all the kingdoms of the world together, I would hurl them to the bottom of the sea, rather than peril the salvation of my soul." "No wonder that Catherine hated her with a hatred which followed her if it did not send her to the grave."

During the reign of Francis I. Claude, fifth son of Rene, duke of Lorraine, had entered France. A soldier of fortune he performed prodigies of valor, and was created Duke of Guise. His marriage to Antoinette de Bourbon associated him with the old nobility, but they always regarded him as an intruder. It was his daughter Mary who married James V. of Scotland and became the mother of Mary Stuart. "Six stalwart sons grew up around him, sharers of his fanaticism, his ambition, his talents and his success. Two of them became Dukes, two rose to be Cardinals, one is known to history as the Marquis d'Elboeuf and another as the Grand Prior." United by a common purpose the Guises appeared to be irresistible. Francis, the second Duke, was the splendid soldier who had wrested from the English the last relic of their conquests in France, the city of Calais. Charles, the cardinal of Lorraine, was an accomplished politician—a perfect courtier. All of them were men of ability, courteous in manners, but merciless as death. Regarding themselves as the heirs of the ancient Carolingian line, they certainly intended to claim the throne upon the extinction of the house of Valois, and in this purpose they were at one time encouraged by Catherine de Medici. Fanatically attached to the Church of Rome, it was their avowed intention to crush the Bourbons, and with them to extirpate Protestantism in France.

It is hardly probable that the Bourbons could have maintained themselves against the Guises if they had not been supported by the great majority of the nobles, most prominent among whom were the Chatillons, who were represented by three brothers, nephews of the old connetâble de Montmorency. Next in rank to the princes of the blood, they were equally brave and prudent—in morals unimpeachable, in manners courteous, they enjoyed in the highest degree the confidence of the people. Most eminent of the three was Gaspard, who from his estate in Franche Comté, is known in history as Coligni, Governor of Picardy, and afterwards Grand Admiral of France; his influence in the southern provinces was hardly less than that of the Guises in the north. When, in captivity, he had read the Bible and the works of Calvin; and when he was led thereby to a change of faith, there was no one who doubted the genuineness of his conversion. Surely, Michelet is right when he declares, that Coligni was the greatest convert John Calvin ever made.

It was at the conjuration of Amboise (1560) that the political and religious elements of the Huguenot cause were welded together. Calvin, it is said, did not approve of the alliance, warning his followers that "those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword." The oppression of the Guises had, however, become intolerable. It is said that in six weeks they had slaughtered twenty thousand Protestants without regard to age or sex. Therefore the Huguenots declared that they were loyal to the king, but were determined to drive out the new "mayors of the palace."

We shall not attempt to relate the history of the wars which followed each other in rapid succession for more than a quarter of a century. Both parties exhibited a ferocity of disposition which has rarely been equalled; but it should be remembered that "many on both sides were actuated by political ambition, rather than by religious conviction, knowing little and caring less for the distinctions in the creeds for which they were ostensibly fighting." Sieges, battles and

truces followed each other in rapid succession. The breaking of images was succeeded by the massacre of Huguenots. There was no question of freedom of conscience. Each party regarded itself as the true church, and would have considered it treason even to suggest the toleration of the faith of its opponents. During the whole of this dreadful period the city of Rochelle was the centre of the Protestant cause. It was its boast that for forty years the Mass had not been read within its walls. Standing in the most intimate relation with Switzerland, the Rhine countries and Holland, Rochelle became the entrepôt for the tens of thousands of volunteers and mercenaries who streamed into France to aid the Protestant cause.

The fickle Antoine de Bourbon went over to the Catholic side, in the hope of gaining the favor of the king, and accused the Huguenots of being the cause of the conflict. It was then that Theodore Beza, in addressing the king, made the memorable reply: "Sire, it is true that it is the lot of the Church of God, in the name of which I speak, to endure blows, and not to give them; but also may it please you to remember, that it is *an anvil which has worn out many hammers.*"

At last it seemed as though the main objects of the Huguenots had been accomplished. Coligni and Prince Conde had been everywhere victorious. The treaty of St. Germain was signed, which granted the Huguenots four towns—among them La Rochelle—which they might hold and garrison as a pledge of good faith. It was, in fact, a truce, but was believed to be the precursor of an era of peace. "To cement the treaty Catharine de Medici proposed that her daughter, the beautiful but worthless Marguerite, of Valois, should be given in marriage to Henry, the young king of Navarre, and all the great Huguenot nobles were invited to come to Paris to take part in the festivities."

It is hardly necessary to tell the story of the ill-fated alliance, which is known in history as the Bloody Wedding.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew, which immediately succeeded it, was certainly, as Queen Elizabeth, of England, declared it, "the most atrocious act committed by men since the crucifixion of Jesus Christ." It is in some sense a relief to be assured by the majority of recent historians that it was not, as was long supposed, in accordance with an elaborate plan, that the Huguenot leaders were enticed to Paris for their destruction. It was rather, it is said, the hasty work of the wicked woman, who might be called the evil genius of that evil age. Her son, the King, Charles IX., weak, impulsive and capricious, had been captivated by the evident sincerity and loyalty of Admiral de Coligni, who had warned him to emancipate himself from his mother's control. In accordance with her usual methods, she at once plotted with the Duke de Guise to remove their great enemy by assassination. The murder was attempted, but failed; the admiral was wounded, not killed. The excitement was intense, and it became evident that the instigators of the crime would be discovered. In their desperation they sought to persuade the king that he was himself to be the victim of a great Huguenot conspiracy, and that vigorous measures must at once be taken to ward off the threatening calamity. At first he refused to believe them, but at last weakly yielded, with the petulant exclamation: "Well, if it must be so, kill them all! Let not one be left to reproach me with this deed." This was enough for the purposes of the queen-mother. At midnight the great bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois rang the alarm; the king's soldiers began the massacre by murdering the Huguenot leaders in their lodgings, and it was easy to give a hint of what was going on to the gathering multitude, who were only too ready to go forth to slay the helpless Protestants. Any one who knows the canaillé of Paris cannot be surprised at the result. That fearful beast, loosed from its chains, had tasted blood, and, as on many similar occasions, it seemed as though its fearful lust could never be glutted. A number of other cities followed the dreadful example of Paris, and it is said that thirty thou-

sand—some say more than one hundred thousand—of the best men and women in France were sacrificed in obedience to a wicked woman's whim. In many places, however, the royal mandate was not obeyed. At Lisieux, for instance, the Roman Catholic bishop gathered the Huguenots into his palace, and protected them from the violence of the mob. Rochelle and Sancerre closed their gates, and it soon became evident that as a means of destroying the Huguenots the massacre had proved a failure. On its first anniversary the Reformed Church of France held a General Synod at Montauban, at which a formal demand was made upon the court to punish the murderers, and to reverse the attainder against Coligni. No wonder that Catharine exclaimed: "If Condé were living, and were here with fifty thousand men, his demands and conditions would not be half so bold." Still, the Protestants had suffered greatly by the loss of their most illustrious men. Among them were Pierre Rameà, the most learned man of his time; Clement Marot, the poet; and Claude Goudimel, the musical composer. It seemed as though literature and art had fled from France forever. And Coligni, the great, was dead also. History has proved his best avenger. Three hundred years after his death the city of Paris erected his statue at the place of his assassination. The Medicis, the Guises, have disappeared from history; the Bourbons are exiles from their native soil; but the direct descendant of Coligni, the representative of his house and the defender of his faith, is seated on the imperial throne of Germany.*

Let us hasten to escape from the dreadful scenes of St. Bartholomew. For two years Henry, of Navarre, was kept a prisoner; then he escaped, and put himself at the head of the Huguenots. It would be pleasant, if time allowed, to follow him in his heroic career, culminating in the crowning victory of Ivry in 1590. Strange events had happened in the

* Louisa Henrietta, the wife of the great elector of Brandenburg, was a granddaughter of Coligni, and from her the present imperial house of Germany is directly descended.

meantime, which aided him in his political purposes. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine had been assassinated at the command of their king; and even the king himself had fallen by the hand of a fanatical Dominican. It seemed, therefore, as though the Huguenots had conquered France, and we can well appreciate the emotions of the victorious soldier, which are so well expressed in Macaulay's splendid ballad, "The Battle of Ivry." Yet, even in that superb composition, a speech is preserved which foreshadows the political policy of the victor—

"And then we thought on vengeance, and all along our van,
'Remember St. Bartholomew,' was passed from man to man;
But out spake gallant Henry: 'No Frenchman is my foe,
Down, down with every foreigner, but let your brother go.'
Oh! was there ever such a knight in friendship or in war,
As our Sovereign Lord King Henry, the soldier of Navarre."

As though, forsooth, *he* had never depended upon foreigners to support his cause! Was not his disposition rather prompted by the hope that the gratitude of the vanquished would aid him in his political aspirations?

It is not easy to form a just conception of the character of Henry IV. In him the bravery and profound political insight of his mother were obscured by the frivolity and lack of profound religious feeling which were so characteristic of his father. Like the image which the king of Babylon beheld in his dream, his head was of fine gold, but his feet were partly of iron and partly of clay. There are some writers who regard his renunciation of Protestantism as excusable, on the ground that it brought peace to his distracted country. Paris, it is said, would never have accepted a Protestant king, and he himself is said to have flippantly declared that "Paris was worth a mass." It is, however, by no means certain that he could not have attained his political purpose without doing violence to his conscience. His great rivals had passed away, and the Catholic nobles were fast coming over to his side. A few more battles, possibly, with the remnants of the league, and

France might have accepted him, Huguenot as he was. "Even if he had failed or perished in the conflict, then, still readier than now, we should have hailed him as Henry the Great." One of the prelates who were present at the act of renunciation, says Dr. Hanna, subsequently said, "I am a Catholic by life and profession and a faithful servant of the king; yet I think it would have been better if he had remained a Protestant than to have changed as he has done; for there is a God above who judges us, respect to whom alone should sway the conscience of kings, and not a regard for crowns and kingdoms. I expect nothing but evil from this act."

It is certain that Henry in this way alienated the most substantial portion of his people. The Huguenots were disappointed and sullen; the strict Catholics had no confidence in the sincerity of his conversion. He fell at last before the dagger of a fanatic of the faith which he had assumed.

Certainly, Henry did all in his power in behalf of his former co-religionists. The Edict of Nantes, which he issued in 1598, was his personal act, and required no small degree of courage. It assured the Protestants that no man should hereafter be punished for his individual belief; they were permitted to hold worship wherever their religion had been previously practiced. Thirty-five hundred Protestant nobles were allowed to have private chapels in their residences, and mixed courts were established to try all cases in which Protestant interests were involved. As material guarantees, the Huguenots were permitted to hold and garrison two hundred towns, and a yearly subsidy was granted for the support of the Protestant ministry.

The period immediately succeeding the promulgation of the edict may be called the days of Huguenot glory, but, alas! it was all too brief. For a little while it seemed as though all France were about to become Huguenot. The temples, as all Protestant places of worship were called, were crowded to overflowing, and every one sang the psalms of Clement Marot. It was not long, however, before signs of trouble once more began to appear, and it was evident that it would come from the

political side. It must be remembered that the organization of the Huguenots was now two-fold. Their church government was simply that of the Reformed or Presbyterian Churches of the present day. Their worship, too, was stately and dignified—liturgical, but severely simple, and not likely to lead to confusion or tumult. Their civil organization was, however, like that of a republic. They elected their own magistrates, and sent delegates to Paris to be their permanent representatives at the seat of government. They were, in fact, a state within a state, and its administration was no doubt attended by peculiar difficulties.

Many of the nobles soon began to manifest a lack of enthusiasm in the Protestant cause. The political objects of the wars had been attained, and the path of ambition led in an opposite direction. Several factious noblemen revolted, and were joined by the Protestants who were under their immediate influence. The suppression of these revolts—some of which are of historical importance—could not fail to injure the general cause. Then there were theological conflicts among the Protestants themselves, which now seem trivial, but were then important. Some of the nobles protested against the social equality which ecclesiastical meetings involved. The Duke de Rohan, who had been called to preside at a synod, was greatly shocked by the freedom with which he was addressed, and bitterly exclaimed, "I would rather preside over a pack of wolves than over a body of Reformed ministers." One by one the majority of the great nobles returned to the Catholic Church. Rohan, Soubise, Charenton, and a host of others who had fought bravely for the Huguenots, found themselves unable to resist the blandishments of the court. The Duke de la Tremouille, the head of the nobility of Poitou, followed their example; but his wife soon showed him who was the master of the house. The duke was served in state in his chamber, but the children were brought up in the strictest forms of the Calvinist faith. This defection, it has been said, delivered the Protestants from the ambition of the nobles, but it also deprived them

of their most influential protectors. Then came the period of Richelieu, who made everything subordinate to the consolidation of France. Caring nothing for religion, that wily statesman aided the Protestants in Germany, in order that they might become a disturbing influence in the State, while at home he oppressed them. Young Huguenots who were willing to change their religion gained rapid promotion, and the most brilliant victories of France were gained by gentlemen who had belonged to the Protestant nobility. Need we mention the Duke of Montausier, Marshal Guebriant, and, greatest of all, Turenne, and Schomberg who, according to Madame de Sevigne, was "a hero too?"

Under the ministry of Mazarin and Louvois the condition of the Huguenots became even more uncomfortable. The Edict of Nantes was constantly infringed. Children of Protestants were persuaded to say an Ave Maria, and were then recognized as Catholics and separated from their parents. At last, in 1685, Madame de Maintenon and her Jesuit advisers induced Louis XIV. to revoke the Edict of Nantes. It was an act of extreme cruelty; it was, even from a political point of view, an act of consummate folly. Certainly, the king never dreamed that it would result in the expatriation of the best part of his subjects, who would bear with them to other lands the skill and culture which had given France her pre-eminence among the nations of Europe. I have always imagined that the king, personally destitute of genuine religious feeling, was unable to appreciate the depth of that sentiment in others. In his stupendous egotism he supposed that he need but speak the word and all men would bow to his decree. Having once revoked the edict, it was incompatible with his dignity to recede from his position. From this time forth all who refused were in his eyes malignant rebels, who must be exterminated with fire and sword.

The Fall of the Huguenots would be a fascinating theme, if space permitted us to pursue it. Curiously enough, it is as romantic as the earlier portions of Huguenot history. The war

of the Camisards—the last struggle of the peasants—was not less heroic than the siege of Rochelle. Strange psychologic studies might here be presented to our view. When the ministers were taken away little children preached with unexampled eloquence. In their secret meetings the persecuted Vaudois imagined they heard the singing of angelic choirs. The prophets of the Cevennes went forth, clad in coarse raiment, to declare the terrors of the Lord. Here alone, in the history of the Reformed Church, we find extravagance and fanaticism, but who, under these dreadful conditions, can wonder at it?

Two millions of Huguenots, it is said, found a refuge in other lands. The number cannot, of course, be accurately determined, but it must have been very great. In Germany, no less than in England, they founded colonies. In Holland they were so numerous as almost to change the language of the nation. At the bi-centennial of the revocation, held in Berlin in 1885, it was boldly declared that the present property of Prussia is mainly due to its Huguenot element. In America they formed settlements in every colony, but became especially numerous in South Carolina. Many of our early statesmen were of Huguenot descent; and in almost every community in which their descendants are numerous the fact is recognized that, though not particularly intellectual, they are active, energetic and influential—they are “born leaders of men.”

In France the name Huguenot is now as obsolete as Puritan is in America. The Reformed Church of France, including the Free Church, now numbers nearly one million of members. It still holds its high social position, and among the members of the Temple, of which Edmond de Pressense is pastor, are many of the foremost families of the Faubourg de Saint Germain.

More than a hundred years ago Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg said, “I have met many Huguenots in America, and have been surprised that men who sacrificed everything for their faith now seem to hold it at a very low rate. They are gener-

ally not active in the church, and I am reluctantly forced to the conclusion that in their conflicts with the government of France their motives were more political than has been hitherto supposed." After a hundred years we see no reason to dissent from this judgment. The Huguenots had all the virtues and all the faults of their race in a pre-eminent degree. They produced men of the highest order in every branch of literature and science. Their religious system had, however, been so closely connected with political questions of the most intense interest, that when these were removed it naturally fell into the background. In England, it is said, at least one-half of the Huguenot refugees at once identified themselves with the Established Church; the others finally connected themselves with the Presbyterians. Everywhere they were satisfied to become "fertilizers" of the existing churches without attempting an ecclesiastical organization of their own. All this was no doubt an advantage, so far as America is concerned, where we certainly have sects enough without them; but the fact indicates a certain lack of enthusiasm for their religious faith, when separated from its political environment, which cannot be ignored. We do not by this acknowledgment under-estimate the many excellent qualities of the Huguenot refugees. They were model pioneers, and their descendants have been excellent citizens. With Mrs. Sigourney, who may be termed their laureate, we hope that—

"On all who bear

Their name or lineage may their mantle rest;
That firmness for the truth, that calm content
With simple pleasures, that unswerving trust,
In toil, adversity, and death, which cost
Such healthful leaven, 'mid the elements
That peopled the new world."

III.

WHAT GIVES LIFE TO PREACHING?

(*Written on Missionary Ground.*)

BY REV. CHARLES C. STARBUCK.

"He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." John xiv. 9.

"Never man spake like this man." John vii. 46.

ALTHOUGH we may hope that our instructions to our people are not wholly fruitless, we have yet great reason to lament their comparative inefficacy. Much of this, no doubt, is owing to our own want of faith, by which the Holy Ghost does not descend abundantly on our preaching. This hindrance is one, the removal of which appertains to our individual growth in grace. Much, also, is owing to the dullness and callousness of undeveloped minds, which can only be gradually removed; and much to the general unwillingness of men to receive the truth; a hindrance of which we must never expect to be wholly free.

Seeing, therefore, that there will always be so many drawbacks on our labors, it behoves us to make them as few as we can. One great drawback often is, a style of instruction unsuited to our hearers. This may be in the words, which are often chosen so much more with reference to the understanding of the speaker than of the hearers, as to be to them veritably an unknown tongue. But the unsuitableness may be also in the class of topics discussed, or in the range of thought by which they are illustrated or enforced. For instance, general and abstract views of truth, of every kind, fall almost lifeless on the ears of those to whom a general idea is a thing almost

unknown; who have been accustomed to view everything only as it bore upon themselves, and in its most concrete form. With such men, reasonings avail little, examples much. And although there should always be a connected chain of reasoning in our own minds underlying the presentation of every subject, yet it should be rather to guide ourselves than them. Otherwise, though we may indeed preach the needed truth, and enforce it with all earnestness, yet we cannot greatly blame our people, if they are but little the better for it.

It is plain, then, that the manner of our instructions should be no less carefully studied than the matter. We should be careful, not only to have the truth, but also to have it clothed in such form, and illustrated with such examples, and enforced by such motives, as shall either appeal to the peculiar views and habits and feelings of our hearers, or shall, at least, address that human nature which we share in common. Whereas, if we form our style upon the model of the theological schools in which we have been bred, or upon the formulas of doctrine with which we have been familiar, we shall not address human nature, but theological nature, which is a very limited portion of it. A well-cultivated man might often be excused for feeling somewhat perplexed by the terminology and range of topics of technical divinity; much more such audiences as we have to address. But as we cannot wholly put off our own modes of thought, nor, without long acquaintance, at least, enter fully into all the peculiar feelings and apprehensions of our people, we may well inquire whether there is not some central point, from which we can develop the truth of God in a manner natural for us on the one hand, and intelligible and affecting to them on the other. If there is, it can be found only in that Book which was written, as has been truly said, from the nucleus of human nature, and especially in that part of the Bible which is peculiarly the common property of mankind, and of all the New Testament, in the records of the life of Him who is central to humanity, who unites in Himself that which even in His apostles, still more in His other followers, is seen in divided glory, whose

words include theirs, as the waters of a lake the streams which issue from it, and whose slightest actions and utterances are penetrated with a significance that can only belong to Him in whom an unspotted human nature is rendered luminous by the shining through of the Godhead. To some the words of Paul are hard to understand, and to some the words of John. But the words of Christ sink into the hearts of all, and no less His mighty deeds. It seems to me, therefore, worthy of thought whether our preaching might not take a deeper hold upon our people if it dwelt less on abstract truth, and more on the living person of our Lord, as presented to us in the evangelical records.

Besides these general reasons, the following special ones may be alleged, for thus making the life of Christ central in our teachings.

I. Jesus Christ is declared to be the visible image of the invisible God. One express design of His coming into the world was to bring the Divine Being home to our sympathies and apprehensions. This He has done by investing the attributes of God with a human form, and by setting forth the Divine activity in human actions. The abstract idea of the infinite God floats before the human mind, vague, indefinite, intangible. We are lost in the depths of the Absolute One, and are prone, sinking back exhausted from that which is so much above us, to form to ourselves unworthy and degrading images of the Divine. Hence God, in condescension to our weakness, has given us in His Son, a visible manifestation of Himself, which, while it is more profoundly human than any of the idols of the heathen, includes no elements unworthy of the Divine, and which, engaging in the first place our human affections, insensibly transmutes them into devotion towards God. Our conceptions of the Divine, thus concentrated and embodied, no longer lose ourselves in the vagueness of Pantheism, or sink into the grossness of idolatry. And it is found that only where Jesus Christ is worshipped as Him who reveals the Father, has this idea of a living, personal God, any practical power. Other-

wise, He is either refined away into a shadow or degraded into an idol.

But in bowing before Jesus Christ, we are not to bow before a name, attached to some conception of our own imaginations, but before that glorious One who is portrayed in the Gospels. It is only by continually refreshing our remembrances from the records of His life, that the Son, and through Him the Father, remains to our mind a distinct and substantial reality. The fading lineaments of Divine goodness in our minds need to be continually retraced by the same Hand that first drew them. And if it be so with us, how much more so with those whose powers of reflection are so much less cultivated, and who can hardly be expected to keep very vividly in mind much more than is brought up to them from week to week. It is not difficult to keep alive the general idea of a Divine Power, but to keep alive the consciousness of a living, just, holy and benevolent God, is something which can only be effected by continually presenting Jesus Christ in those various aspects of His character in which He manifests God on earth.

II. The atonement of Christ, as doctrinally unfolded in the Epistles, is the foundation of our hopes. But those hopes can only be firm and well-assured in proportion as it is present to our minds. Who is it that has thus died for us? It can mean but little to say that Christ is our Surety, so long as Christ remains, as to so many He evidently does, a phantasmal indistinctness. We can have a living confidence of our redemption only by having a living knowledge of our Redeemer. And even if our confidence were well assured, it could have but little warmth or fruitfulness so long as it thus rests in the bare region of doctrine, and is not animated by the affection that springs from a personal beholding of the Redeemer. This is indeed the general fault of our Protestant theology, that it dwells too much in the Epistles and too little in the Gospels, that it occupies itself too much with speculations about Christ's work for us, and receives too little of the practical benefit of Christ's work in us.

Doubtless there is much in Christ which could not well be revealed in His earthly sojourn, and which it was given to His apostles, through the Holy Spirit, to develop; and as containing the revelation of the heavenly glory of our Lord, the Epistles in some respects serve to develop more exalted views of Him than we can derive from the Gospels alone, unless our faltering flight of inference is aided by the stronger wing of apostolic inspiration. Nevertheless, to be well assured that these representations of the heavenly dignity of Christ are founded in truth, there is presupposed a familiarity with the Divine excellency of His life on earth. And if it be so with us, much more with our people, who have but dim ideas of doctrine, but who can understand what is meant, when they are told that the gracious Personage who extends His arms of invitation to them in the evangelical records, is One who has given His life for them, one to whom they can trust as their Intercessor and Advocate. Neither we nor they can be saved by the mere name of Christ, as an unknown element in a dry formula of doctrine, but by a living faith in a Living Lord.

III. Do not the teachings, and more especially the Parables of our Saviour, form the best basis for the instruction of a people like ours? In the first place their figurative character is such as takes hold of all minds, and especially of minds unaccustomed to abstract thought. It is true that Parables were obscure to those to whom they were first delivered. But as we have them with our Lord's own explanations added to them and our other means of understanding them, the very metaphors and symbols which at first rendered them obscure, become the most prompt remembrancers of their meaning, while the continual illustrations from the outer world make almost every process or phenomenon of nature, and almost every occupation of men, fertile in suggestions of spiritual truth. The unanxious birds; the seed thrown on the furrow; the springing fountain; the quickening leaven; the fruitless tree; the sad and lowering sky; the sheep scattered upon the hills; the hen gathering her brood under her wings; the husbandmen; the vine-dress-

ers; the fishermen; the king warring with another king; the merchant in his eager quest of gain; the careless servant and the strict or the forgiving master; the bridal procession; even the unjust steward and the burglar breaking in upon the unwary householder—all these varied activities of nature and of man are seized and stamped with a spiritual significance by which the truth of God is linked to common doings and familiar sights. And in this imagery truth is presented under such varying aspects, that our care need only be to hold them up in the right light, in order to show each one what manner of man he is or ought to be.

Besides the Parables, the moral precepts of our Lord are numerous. The peculiarity of them is, that they present Duty in its inmost essence, in its most startling, and for that very reason its plainest form. In place of general exhortations to meekness, we are told: "Resist not evil." In place of general exhortations to charity, we are told: "Sell that ye have, and give alms." In place of general exhortations to unworldliness, we are told: "He that forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my disciple."

There are two states of society in which, especially, this heavenly severity of Christ's teachings is needed. One is, when the softening influence of high culture disposes men to refine away every injunction that bears hard upon the self-indulgence of a polished ease, and when the web of unconscious sophistry, by which men hide from themselves the obligation to a higher life, needs to cut through by the sharp edge of such sayings as these. The other is, when among a people in the infancy of their moral development the very foundations of duty are to be laid. Then we are happy in having such strong and deep foundations to lay, as are afforded by the moral precepts of Christ. Duty needs then, to be presented in its most decisive and uncompromising form in order to raise a feeling of obligation in minds in which the grossness of selfishness can be checked only by the most peremptory voice of command. It will be time for the shadings and refinements of

duty when the broad impressions of it are first deeply fixed. This appears to have been the purpose of our Lord in offering His precepts in so striking, so designedly paradoxical a form, and we can find no better weapons yet, wherewith to overcome the strong man armed than those which He has bequeathed us.

Another reason for dwelling largely on Christ's immediate teachings is, that no one else has spoken with such fullness and solemnity of the eternal world. From whose lips, indeed, could the mention of the retributions of eternity fall with such weight of authority as from His who is to be the Dispenser of them? Who could speak with such awful emphasis of the place "where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched," as He whose office it will be to consign the incorrigibly wicked to that place of torment? On the other hand, from whom should we derive a more joyful confidence of celestial glory than from His assurance whose home was in that glory, and who, after His brief sojourn here for our redemption, has gone to prepare a place for us amid those heavenly mansions?

To one only of the apostles—to that beloved disciple who drank most deeply of his Master's spirit—was it given to receive from Him visions of the heavenly brightness still plainer to us, and to show us, as it were, the very image of the Golden City, and of the River of the Water of Life. Yet even this dazzling vision does not move the soul so much as the few simple words: "I will come again, and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also." And so with all the discourses of our Lord, compared with those of His apostles. What they speak is truth; and what He speaks is truth. But they speak from the Spirit of Truth, whereas He is the Truth. They were but men, though men inspired; His words are those of God manifest in the flesh. Hence the intrinsic evidence of truth is heightened in them, by the sense of Divine authority; in Him, by the sense of the Divine presence. Therefore, when teaching those with whom Truth needs rather to be enforced as a command than established by

a course of argument, we never speak with greater power than when we can ratify our message by the words of our Lord Himself. In our teachings, therefore, we do ourselves wrong if we do not often draw them from these deepest and clearest of the wells of salvation.

IV. The life and miracles of Christ are not less pregnant with meaning than His words. It is only from the life of Christ that the idea of disinterested benevolence has gained permanently living force over men. In countries where this blessed influence has been long felt, there have been thousands of holy men and women who have reflected, in some noticeable and influential measure, the brightness of the great Original. But among those who are slowly rising from the brutishness of heathenism, such examples are little known. It is then a happy thing, that though the planets are absent from view, we still see the Sun from which they derive their brightness, and which may yet quicken dull masses of earth into glorious orbs. A profound and dead selfishness rests, like a gross fog, upon our people. Few of them can be brought to a practical belief in anything better, for they know nothing better. Abstract discourses on the beauty of benevolence and virtue, on our obligation to seek the good of being, and such like, would be in truth to them like sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. But the simple exhortation to follow the example of Jesus Christ is at least intelligible. We can show them that there has been at least one Man in the world who went about doing good; whose meat and drink it was to do the will of God; who could not be wearied in well-doing by any ingratitude; who could not be seduced into complicity with evil by any allurements; who counted the delights of the world as nothing, compared with the delight of enlightening, relieving, reclaiming and consoling men. Their apprehensions may be dulled, as ours too often are, by the habit of viewing Him as One apart from men, as no true member of Mankind. But it is our part to bring home the sense of His real humanity to ourselves and to them. And when

we do this, what better conception can we give them of virtue and benevolence than virtue and benevolence embodied, and exhibiting themselves in a daily round of human actions? We can show them that, excepting in His miraculous power of accomplishing His purposes of benevolence, Jesus Christ did only such good as we may do, and ought to do.

This may have little effect at first, except upon nobler souls. But as the sun's rays, first striking the mountain tops, are reflected down into the valleys, so the light caught by the nobler souls from the Sun of Righteousness, spreads from them more and more to those beneath.

But our references to the example of Jesus, to have any great effect, must be frequent, must be particular and detailed; separating what is peculiar to Him from what is common to Him with us; showing in His miracles types of those daily works of love and mercy and faith which we are called to do; and by exhibiting the familiar aspects of the life of Him who dwelt among the common people, endeavoring to make him once more a welcome inmate of humble homes.

We must expect, among such a people as ours, but a faint sensibility even to all this. To a dull eye, the sun gives but a dull light. But as there is no other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved, so there is no other life given whereby any people can be developed into holiness.

V. There is, moreover, this to encourage us in dwelling, before our people, on the person of Christ: that there is in the African race a peculiar readiness to receive religion through the medium of a personal affection for the Saviour. The development of a loving devotion towards the person of our Lord is what we all need in order to give warmth and substance to our religion. But with such a race as that with which we are concerned, so unapt to philosophize, and so disposed to adore, it may be said to be essential.

And here we may be prone to err. Finding our people inclined to appropriate to themselves the comfort and safety which Jesus bestows, while negligent of the holiness which He

enjoins, we, on the other hand, are, perhaps, too apt to hide from them the gracious form of the Consoler, and substitute the rigid image of abstract law. And we cannot hold up a higher ideal of duty, or propose stricter terms of discipleship than Christ Himself has proposed. But is it not well to let Him appear in all the parts of His character at once, that the holy severity of His claims may be tempered, not by any false accommodation to the low standards of sinful men, but by the winning sweetness of His invitations, and the richness of His promises? Always presenting to view the perfection which He requires, we may yet be glad to perceive any movement of a soul towards Christ, even though there should appear to be at the first more of the natural than of the spiritual in it. The lower, if not absolutely corrupt, leads often to the higher. The desire of comfort and peace is legitimate, and Christ proposes Himself as the one in whom it is to be met. "Come unto me," His language is, "all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." He addresses the natural desire, that through it He may awaken spiritual longings. Doubtless many who profess to follow Him will, when they perceive the extent of His claims, go back and walk no more with Him. But there will also be those who, although they came at first with no higher motive, will remain because they have found that He has words of eternal life.

In conclusion I would remark, that in endeavoring to urge it as desirable that we should make the person, character, life and teachings of Christ more distinctly the centre of our teaching than we always do, I have not always been careful to confine myself to those aspects of the subject which bear immediately upon the necessities of our people. There are special reasons, indeed, why they need this, but the main reasons apply with very little inferior force to ourselves. We have enough, and perhaps more than enough, of speculative reasoning about the work of Christ; but it can hardly be held that we are sufficiently disposed to the adoring contemplation of Christ. Of late years a school has arisen which discourages all attempts to reason on

the relation of Christ's sufferings to our salvation. It is to be hoped that it will not prevail. Much of the masculine vigor of the Reformed theology would disappear under such an interdiction of the healthy activities of the intellect. But there are depths in the love and in the glory of Christ which cannot be fathomed by reasoning; which we best receive into our souls in that stillness of meditation which distinguishes the beloved disciple.

Whatever exceptions may be taken to the familiar division of church history into three periods, it will still recur to the mind. There is the fact, plain before every eye, that the long Catholic period was the period of authority, and signalize this by the name of Peter; and that Protestantism, which has made the reasoning of the schools the possession of the people, has always drawn her main weapons from the arsenal of Paul. And no one can deny that as John long survived Peter and Paul, and did much to fuse early oppositions in the Church, so now, at the end of the ages, the Church yearns after a resolution of antagonisms in the loving contemplation of the Redeemer. It may well be our prayer, that the Church, apprehending and exhibiting her Lord and King in every aspect of His character, may thereby draw all men to Him, and herself be transformed from glory to glory until the time when, ceasing to behold Him through the obscuring veil of human words, even the words of Apostles, she shall rise to that immediate intuition which shall be to her the consummation of holiness and the consummation of bliss.

Andover, Mass.

IV.

AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE.*

BY WALTER M. FRANKLIN, ESQ., A.M.

THE dominion of law is universal. It prevails everywhere, in the heavens above, in the earth beneath and in the waters under the earth. It controls the material and physical forces of nature, and, transcending these, it enters into a higher sphere and finds its consummation in the social economy of mankind.

The highest manifestation of law is in the social life of man, because in him is the culmination of the whole process of design. He is the crowning end of creation, and unites in his person as a final recapitulation all the organic forces that are dispersed in nature.

Standing in this relation to the other orders of nature, the advent of man was not a new creation, but a culmination; and in the mysterious union of body and soul in his person, the far-reaching principles of law were lifted into a union with self-conscious activity, moving and acting at the behest of intelligent free-will.

The development of the lower orders of creation is directed and controlled by outward causes, but the development and perfection of human nature is from within and is the result of the divine gift of right reason and free-will. In the human sphere law operates through man's rational endowment, in direct relation with the great Law-giver, and the restrictions

* An address delivered before the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College, in the College Chapel, at the Annual Commencement, on Wednesday, June 12, 1889.

of the law upon human conduct are protections against interference with the operations of the higher gift of free-will, or freedom, through which only man reaches his divinely-appointed destiny.

Law is thus the handmaid of freedom, and freedom points to equality among men, and hence the broad declaration that "we are all born free and equal," and the scriptural injunction to "love one another, for love is the fulfilling of the law."

Heffter, one of the most distinguished jurists of modern Germany, declares the doctrine thus: that "law, in general, is the external freedom of the moral person. It is founded on reciprocity of will. Its organ and regulator is public opinion; its external tribunal is history, which forms at once the rampart of justice, and the Nemesis by whom injustice is avenged. Its sanction, or the obligation of men to respect it, results from the moral order of the universe which will not suffer people to be isolated."

The brilliant law professor, William Sampson, said in addressing the Historical Society: "Our law is justly dear to us; and why? because it is the law of a free people and has freedom for its end, and under it we live both free and happy. When we go forth it walks silent and unobtrusive by our side, covering us with its invisible shield from violence and wrong. Beneath our own roof and by our own fireside it makes our home our castle. All ages, sexes and conditions share its protecting influence."

The declaration of Cicero verges almost upon inspiration: "There is," he exclaimed, "a true law, which is right reason, which corresponds with the constitution of universal nature, which pervades all mankind, unchanging, eternal—which commands to duty and forbids what is wrong. It is not one law at Athens and another at Rome, one thing now and another hereafter, but one eternal and immortal law, which binds all nations in all time. And there is one God who is the common Ruler and Sovereign of all. Of this law He is the inventor, the framer, the legislator."

It is a cardinal truth that laws, to be just and stable, must be founded on the principles of freedom, and they must not arise artificially out of mere abstract theoretical speculation, but naturally out of the real necessities of the social order. Rooted in right reason, grounded upon the wants and peculiar characteristics of the people, and formulated by men acting under a high sense of responsibility after sufficient deliberation and free discussion, laws are rational and just; and thus formed they do not operate arbitrarily as a perfunctory force, but organically as a central spring in the very heart of the social body. They partake of the inward life and true character of the people, and reflect the doctrinal principles that lie at the base of their national life.

There is a "*ratio justifica*" for every national existence. The national life embodies and represents certain distinctive underlying characteristics and prevailing moral principles which vitalize and bind the common unity; and the permanence and grandeur of national institutions are determined by their doctrinal foundations, and by the measure of their approach to that highest moral ideal in human government—complete freedom, which is the purpose and end of all law.

Our own state and national system of government rests upon the fundamental doctrine of "the absolute and essential civil and political equality of all its citizens, whose collective will, expressed by majorities, is the rightful and only source of all political power and the only supreme majesty on earth."

This is a high aim towards freedom, and is the reverse of the fundamental doctrine in the government of the old world, "that all popular constitutional rights, all useful and necessary changes in legislation and administration can only emanate from the free will and concession of the monarch." The new world doctrine rests upon the consent and participation of all in the general government, upon the sovereignty of society at large.

This fundamental doctrine of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, took early root and grew

naturally in the new American soil where the people breathed a native atmosphere of freedom, and it was not long before the oppressions of foreign tyranny roused the colonists, in order to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of freedom, to "proclaim, throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof," their independence of Great Britain, by which each of the colonies in the new land became an independent state. In the struggle that followed they were united in a common alliance or league, and after the Revolution they attempted to continue under the social compact of a confederacy; but this was found entirely inadequate for their government, and the historic convention of 1787 was called representing the whole American people.

The exigencies of the times had brought to the front men of sterling worth, and the convention contained men who were distinguished for their learning, their experience, their prudence and practical sagacity, and their discussions showed the broadest range of inquiry into human history and philosophy in formulating a scheme of government for the whole people united in one great American nation.

They were impressed with the inadequacy of a mere confederation, and they understood the causes that led to the ruin of the ancient republics, which had no common union, no coherent force and commanding power of a general government over all the independent States to check the undue domination of any one or any combination.

They saw how the United Netherlands "waned and relapsed into tyranny" because there was no common and comprehensive government that was of all and for all in the maintenance and defence of the common interests.

So that great convention solved the problem of providing a general government, representing the whole people as one people, and formed a national union of the States, "one and inseparable," and established a constitutional government that is the grandest monument to human freedom ever produced through the wisdom of the ages.

"The constitution of the United States," says Gladstone, "is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

A great constitutional lawyer in a famous argument, pointing to the great instrument as the charter of liberty for the masses, said: "In its words it is plain and intelligible, and is meant for the home-bred, unsophisticated understandings of our fellow-citizens."

And an eminent statesman declares: "It is the spirit of freedom, which intertwined its roots and fibers so inseparably into every element of the constitution, that is its vitalizing strength and glory."

It is the instrument that uprooted the unnatural bondage to mediæval doctrines, and crystallized into permanent form the most enlightened and advanced ideas of human government.

A new nation thus sprang into being, under the Constitution, baptized in the blood of martyrs and patriots whose heroic sacrifices were upon the altar of eternal principle. At its very inception, in changing from the condition of colonial subjects, the independence of the new nation was predicated upon a great fundamental principle of government diametrically opposite to that of the mother country, namely, the sovereignty of the people as against monarchic supremacy.

This radical organic difference made it necessary to change the base and pillars of the whole structure of the new government. The permanence and life of the constitution required a new and adequate system of jurisprudence.

The English system was unsuited to the new constitution, which embodied such radical changes in fundamental political doctrine; and it was entirely inadequate to meet the conditions of the new world's more free and progressive life.

But in respect to any revolution or change in the laws at the formative period of our national history, a most singular and unfortunate timidity prevailed, inspired by a factional aristocracy who held the balance of power, and who were conserv-

ative of many of the ideas and customs and fashions that were in vogue in England; and who discountenanced the demand for emancipation from the ancient English usages and forms. This fastidiousness was particularly manifested in regard to any changes in the system of laws. There remained among the lawyers a most amazing, Fetish-like worship of the English common law, and imbued with this prejudice, which was intolerant of any change from the customs and usages and forms that were brought over and initiated here in the colonial period, our lawyers clung with the greatest tenacity to English laws, and English forms and precedents, and thus it came to pass that not only in our laws, but in our legal practice, in the whole system of judicial procedure—which is the practical means of administering the law—there was “no change, no originality, and no nationality.”

The common law worshipers cherished the sentiment and indoctrinated it into every professional student, that the English common law was the embodiment of the highest attainment in legal science and the original source of those cardinal principles and maxims which are the foundation of liberty and equality among men.

This was a broad claim and was ill-founded. There was as much error in attributing such supreme virtue to the common law as there was real timidity in the failure to break away from an ancient system that was so obviously ill-adapted to the novel conditions that surrounded the nation at its formative period.

That the English common law is not the fountain of human liberty is shown by the valued researches of classical scholars, who trace the source of liberty far back of English history and find it cradled and nursed and reared to perfection among the ancient Romans, who were the most cultivated people and the most advanced in the science of law that ever inhabited the earth, and whose enlightened principles of liberty were formulated into an elaborate and complete system of jurisprudence. “The laws of all nations,” declared the eminent Chief Jus-

tice Holt, "are doubtless raised out of the ruins of the Roman Empire."

Learned writers have exhausted the subject and shown clearly that the principles and maxims long considered native to the English common law are in fact of Roman origin.

The limitations of the occasion permit reference to only a few. Thus, the maxim that every man's house is his castle, is adopted from the Roman law; so also is the writ of habeas corpus; the maxim that no man shall be condemned unheard; the doctrine of *ex-post-facto* legislation; the doctrine of right by prescription; the right of representation by succession in intestacy—these and many others were of Roman origin.

The right of trial by jury, openly before the people, with the privilege of challenging any of the jurors chosen, and to be confronted by one's accusers and their witnesses—was a part of the Roman system, and did not exist in England, according to the best authorities, before the reign of Henry II.

So, also, the right of release from imprisonment for debt by an insolvent who surrendered his property to his creditors, was incorporated into the common law so late as the reign of George II.; and wills were borrowed from Rome and introduced into England, as to real estate, so late as the reign of Henry VIII.

Historians go further and show that the Roman law, whose jurisprudence prevails in the whole of continental Europe, is the system that first governed England and civilized and christianized its people, and the features of the common law which most deserve admiration are those which are directly traceable to the Roman law.

A recent writer declares that "every legislative change of the common law in modern times is but an unconscious introduction of some Roman law ingredient or conception."

Indeed we may trace to the Romans the laws and maxims that are most dear to freemen the universe over, and in their system we find the most ample provisions upon all matters which could involve the subject of civil rights in a civilized country.

There were copious and minute regulations regarding the origin, succession, transfer and possession of land. Rules of descent were carefully fixed and defined, and the right of testament and the authentication and registry of wills. So, too, in regard to contracts relating to real or personal property, and in regard to all the multitudinous affairs of life, there were provisions sufficient for the regulation of any civilized community.

And these provisions of the Roman law were enforced under a most admirable system of procedure in the courts for the practical administration of justice.

The criminal side of the law was equally well provided for. It was based on maxims that were marked by a spirit of mercy and humanity, and criminal justice was administered with a view towards certainty and expedition, on the assumption, based upon a keen insight into the springs of human conduct, that crimes were more effectually prevented by the certainty than the severity of punishment. For, as Montesquieu, writing at a later period, says: "The excessive severity of laws hinders their execution; when the punishment surpasses all measure, the public will frequently out of humanity prefer impunity to it."

The Porcian law, which prevailed during the period when the Republic flourished, is said to have been a model of mildness as well as completeness, and abrogated all the severe punishments in the laws of the kings and the Twelve Tables of the Decemvirs. Afterwards, under the later emperors, severe punishments were revived and the empire fell.

The whole Roman system of law was in its nature so comprehensive, so broad, elastic and enlightened, that it was eminently adapted to universal dominion. This was recognized in the earliest ages of Christian history, and by none more emphatically than the fathers of the Christian Church, foremost among whom was St. Augustine, whose testimony was that it was based on principles of wisdom and justice that were dear to all mankind.

We are told that it was the boast of the Roman emperors,

who consolidated and codified the Roman laws, that they governed the various provinces of their vast empire not merely by force, but by the moral influence of their rule, and that they subdued the barbarians by their power, but civilized them by their laws.

At the time when the Roman dominion in England had become firmly fixed, their law had attained its highest development of excellence; and it is well established that during the period of the Roman possession the Roman system of law prevailed in its purity in England.

But afterwards it became corrupted during the darker periods of English history, and in the course of time there were incorporated into English institutions many of the usages and customs of the Saxons, and, later still, the feudal system of the Normans.

According to Hume, "the mailed hand with which the Conqueror grasped and shook early English institutions has left its deep impress on them to this day."

The feudal system was a prodigious fabric, and became the main source of the peculiar and characteristic features of the English common law. In commenting upon it in a learned address recently, Judge Dillon declared, "It made serfs of the masses. It was a system in its nature at war with commerce. It was inimical to peaceful pursuits. Out of its logic sprang the most baleful doctrine that has blighted the English law, the doctrine of tenure. To gratify ancestral pride and maintain family splendor the feudal aristocracy tied up the landed property in the iron fetters of tenure; and although it constituted the wealth of the nation, it was withdrawn from commerce. The feudal system is the source of the land laws of Great Britain, which still press with such crushing weight upon the agricultural and industrial classes."

The same sort of testimony may be adduced in regard to the criminal branch of the law. It was founded on the customs of a barbarous people. Blackstone, one of the greatest of the apostles of the common law, reprehended the severities of the

penal provisions of the English law, many of which prevailed to a recent period, and he cites a statute of the reign of Elizabeth by which the forgery of a deed or will was punished by double costs and damages, by standing in the pillory and by having both ears cut off and the nostrils slit and seared.

He further observes the melancholy truth that no less than one hundred and sixty offences which men are liable daily to commit were declared by act of Parliament to be worthy of death. To the death penalty very atrocious crimes had additional pains or disgrace superadded. In treason the culprit was dragged to the place of execution; in high treason affecting the king's person, the judgment was beheading and quartering and emboweling alive, and in case of a female, burning alive. Lesser crimes were punished by whipping, by branding, by the pillory, the stocks and the ducking-stool.

Dr. Strong, citing evidences of "man's inhumanity to man," in his able tract entitled "*Our Country*," says that "at the beginning of this century nothing was cheaper than human life. In the eye of the English law the life of a rabbit was worth more than that of a man, for every attempt on the former cost the sacrifice of the latter. The law recognized two hundred and twenty-three capital offences. If a man injured Westminster Bridge, he was hanged. If he cut down young trees; if he shot at rabbits; if he stole property valued at five shillings; if he stole anything at all from a bleach-field; if he wrote a threatening letter to extort money; if he returned prematurely from exile—for any of these offences he was immediately hanged."

And we may add that even to-day behind the bars of English jails are incarcerated and subjected to brutal indignities, some of her choicest spirits, representative men, members of Parliament, learned and cultivated orators, statesmen and gentlemen, who have offended the tory government by speeches—imprisoned for speeches! which were the outcry of men against the oppression and tyranny, not of ancient, but current English legislation and judicially administered law. Well may Presi-

dent Harrison have declared, as reported by a witness who testified before the Parnell Commission, "That every honest man and lover of liberty would rather share the company of William O'Brien in Tullamore jail than that of the Viceroy in Dublin Castle!"

In a comparison of the relative claims of the Roman law and the English common law for the admiration and gratitude of modern nations, the Roman system takes rank pre-eminently ahead, according to the judgment of the most intelligent critics.

The English system was full of obsolete fictions, and was never congenial to our American spirit, and should never have been adopted after the Revolution. We then became a distinct nationality, whose source was derived from many foreign lands. We were not of English origin alone, but German and Scotch and Irish and French and Spanish and many others; and as the English nation originated from the fusion of many elements—Picts and Celts and Saxons and Danes and Normans, and formed a distinct nationality, so by the fusion and assimilation of many nationalities we became a distinct nationality—"a peculiar people"—a homogeneous American people, and it is not natural that we should draw the spirit of our laws from one foreign source alone.

An honored member of the profession, Judge Hoadly, writing on this subject recently, and noting our diverse origin, inveighs against the system of legal education, and complains with much force that "the education of the lawyer limits him to the narrow scope of English legal lore, and he peers into the remote past searching for the customs of England to guide his American clients—customs which, fortunately for the world, have passed away; customs of war, not of peace; customs of piracy and ransom, not of commerce; customs of the mud-road and the bridle-path, not the railway; of the wain, not the luggage-van or express-car; customs of the Wars of the Roses, not of the deliverances of the American and French Revolutions. The customs of civilized empires, the wise ordinances which govern

the relations of men, left to posterity by masters of the law who studied the necessities of mankind, not in a barbarous island inhabited by mail-clad nobles and serfs, but at the very centres of the then civilized world, are a sealed book. France and Germany and Italy and Spain, etc., are not on his intellectual map. These are to him undiscovered continents waiting the revelations of some legal Columbus. The Institutes and the Digest of Tribonian and his associates, the Partidas of the wise Alfonso, have no place in his library. Gaius and Ulpian, Papinian, Montesquieu, Savigny and Von Ihering are to him names without meaning. To him law is a set of rules founded on the customs of his English ancestry, divisible into two classes—one, for which reasons never existed or have been forgotten; the other, for which the reasons were the result of fashions of people, whose sympathy for his fathers was so little that they drove his ancestors into the wilderness to found a state upon broader principles than any of them cherished, and with larger fruition than any of the persecutors or exiles dreamed."

There has been much change, of course, in the English common law, and in the whole system of law governing England. But the changes have been by slow degrees, and the same may be said of the engrafted common law wherever it has predominated in this country.

The prejudice here in favor of the English common law has been cherished by the older element of the profession, who, having waded through its misty depths and mastered its intricacies, are loath to have their learning go for naught, and notwithstanding its glaring defects and the frequent failure of justice by reason of its cumbrous forms and their lack of adaptability to our new and progressive institutions, they oppose all change and resist all efforts towards reform. Only very recently and gradually, and against the most strenuous opposition, have any changes been effected in our older communities.

It was left for the later Commonwealths to become the pioneers of reform and break away from the anomalous system founded on artificial logic and burdened with the feudal cus-

toms, whose quaint and subtle theories have been preserved by a cringing sentiment for antiquity.

It is curious to observe that in the light of what has been so timidly essayed here, and the happy experience of beneficial results, England herself has adopted by recent legislation many of the reforms advocated and inaugurated in our new communities.

The late William Henry Rawle, in a learned address to the Law Academy, remarked that the new Judicature Act in England, passed only in 1875, has revolutionized much that had long been sacred in the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall, and in it you will find that the fusion of law and equity, which our poor colonists adopted of necessity, and almost in despair, has since been adopted in the parent country upon the deliberate judgment of her wisest men.

Modern civilization requires a more practical administration of the law, a more simplified legal procedure, more certainty and expedition in the application of legal principles to the common affairs of every day life, and it is for the new generation of lawyers who are not so imbued with the prejudices of fossilized conservatism to vindicate the progressive spirit of the law.

The law, says a close student of the subject, is assumed to be and ought to be common sense; it is made for the common people as well as for the learned, and it follows that as regards expression and arrangement, and the speedy attainment of justice, common convenience and certainty should not be sacrificed to mere supposed scientific form.

It has been a matter of remark and of much concern in the profession that where the cumbrous common law methods have been retained in this country, the course of justice has been so much impeded by the law's long delays, and has become so uncertain and unsatisfactory, that people avoid litigation and suffer loss, or compromise, or resort to arbitration or other methods of settlement among themselves to obtain that simple justice between man and man which the technicalities of the law render too uncertain and too tardy.

These defects in the legal system reflect necessarily upon

the members of the profession who practice under it, and there is therefore much wisdom in the declaration of the learned Duponceau that "those who may think that there is an advantage in the science of the law being involved in mysteries and artificial theories are egregiously mistaken. The science of medicine was so once, when genius lashed it with the pen of Moliere. Since it has abandoned its senseless nostrums and formulas and fixed itself firm on the basis of fact and experiment, it has considerably gained in respect, honor and emolument. By pursuing a similar course, the legal profession will receive similar rewards."

We are constantly called upon to note the wonderful changes and innovations in the methods of our modern life, and the "marvellous quickening of the whole pace of civilization under the whip and spur of human ingenuity," and we observe how many and necessary are the changes of the law that are required by these new conditions; but we are amazed to find how unscientifically any changes or innovations in the law are produced to meet the new wants and to respond to the demand for recognition of new interests.

Science is constantly busy with the wonderful changes in the world's handicraft, and with the improvements in travel and communication, but it has been little applied to the formation and development of the law and its practical administration. Necessary changes in the law, instead of being wrought according to scientific principles, have been left to develop through the slow and uncertain course of litigation and judicial interpretation, and the chance medium of legislation; so that there is ground for the charge from scientific observers that there is no function of duty affecting the public which is so inadequately performed as that of law-making.

This is particularly apparent from a glance at the methods of legislation. It has been pointed out in the discussions that have taken place recently on this subject that there is an endless amount of legislation, but much of it fails of its purpose; because our legislators, who may be assumed to know

the needs of their constituents and to be able to devise changes required for the public welfare, are nevertheless incompetent to give formal expression to their intentions in a properly framed legal statute. This is a part of law-making that involves technical knowledge, skill and experience. It calls for *knowledge* of the principles of law applicable to the combination of facts involved in the proposed change or innovation, and it requires *skill* in the use of language, and *experience* in the vast field of judicial interpretation.

By disregarding the important element of the drafting of statutes, legislation not only too frequently fails of its purpose, but as often produces effects that were never intended; and then follow attempts to correct errors by amendments or repealing statutes, and these again give rise to an enormous amount of judicial construction; and it becomes a stupendous task to ascertain what is really the law—what is new, what has been modified or eliminated, and what really remains of the statutes.

There is no country in the world where there is so much legislation as emanates from our national Congress and our State Legislatures, and yet nowhere is it so crudely turned out, without any distinction being observed between the initiative function of devising changes and innovations, and their final expression in the form of a statute.

This important subject has been attracting much attention, and from its intelligent consideration we may early look for some advance steps towards a reform of the whole system.

And from what has been said, which doubtless accords with the experience of most lawyers and the observation of thousands of litigants, reform is not less needed in the practical administration of the law in the Courts, "whose pleadings," according to Duponceau, "exhibit on the records of every contested case an endless wrangle in writing, perplexing to the Court and impeding the administration of justice." It has become proverbial that in most common law actions the declarations declare nothing, neither do the general pleas disclose the real ground of defence.

In this branch of the law the machinery has been so complicated with feigned issues and imaginary wagers, with joiners and rejoinders, and all the subtle distinctions of artificial logic, that plain reason and common sense have been driven out of view, and a great bulk of the cases brought before courts of justice have been decided upon some mere refined points of form. All this has resulted with such violence to the rights of the people as to reflect discredit upon the whole legal system, and upon the members of the profession who practice under it; and therefore the agitation for law reform, while it is based essentially and primarily on a just and patriotic sense of what is right and needful in the exigencies of our rapidly developing civilization, has in it also, from a professional standpoint, a measure of regard for self-preservation.

The remedial branch of the subject, is one which may be left to the wisdom of our enlightened age, and to that public-spirited intelligence which fosters all progress, and is active in the advance of a sound jurisprudence and a just administration of law.

However, in seeking a remedy for the evils and defects in the prevailing system, it may be wise to go back to the pure fountain of the law before it became corrupted in the dark ages: and as in the church the champions of the Reformation turned to the early fathers to find the precepts of their religion, pure and undefiled, so in the temple of justice we turn to the classic source of legal principles, Christianized under the influence of the early church fathers, and there we find an elaborate, comprehensive and complete legal system—sprung from the natural laws common to all mankind, and in its later development firmly established upon "That Rock which is Christ," whence flow the pure streams of all law and of all righteousness.

The "reign of law," blessed by the sunshine of the gospel, has extended its influence throughout the civilized world, and in no manner has its cherished principles been more firmly and permanently preserved than through the medium of those

monuments of the law, the various codes that have been handed down through generations.

The champions of law reform are logically driven to advocate the formation and adoption of a comprehensive Code; by which is meant a scientifically arranged exposition of legal principles, an exact and clear expression of existing law; and, in addition to this, suitable provision for drafting and codifying all legislation affecting any changes or innovations in the law.

The Roman Code, and the Codes that have followed in later times, and especially those that have been framed in several of our States, exhibit what may be accomplished in this important field of human endeavor; and the history of the administration of justice wherever the Code has been adopted attests its fitness to fulfil the demands of our modern civilization. It has been sufficiently demonstrated in our country and elsewhere that the law loses none of its flexibility, but on the contrary gains vastly in its adaptability for the development of free institutions, by being assimilated to simple forms and crystallized into a Code.

The gain in clearness, completeness and precision, is the great and important feature: the one which gives assurance of the largest freedom, and therefore promises the greatest blessings to generations, and He who is the Great Lawgiver will not withhold from the advocates of a true law reform the knowledge, the wisdom and the power to perfect their work for the glory of their country and the good of mankind.

Reverently did Justinian write, in referring to the Roman Code, and we should catch the spirit of his lofty thoughts in advocating a like endeavor in our own generation: "We have been encouraged to undertake the full and complete revision of the whole law; a work which has been considered impossible, and which no one heretofore has dared to undertake; but with uplifted hands, invoking divine assistance, we have entered on this work trusting to God, who enables men to accomplish the most desperate enterprises, to help us by His infinite power to accomplish it. And when it is completed we wish it to be regarded as the temple and sanctuary of Justice."

V.

THE EVOLUTION HERESY IN MODERN THEOLOGY.

BY REV. CYRUS CORT, OF GREENCASTLE, PA.

THE theory of spontaneous generation of life has been given up even by infidel scientists. Huxley announces that the doctrine of life only from life is victorious all along the line at the present day. Tyndal, against his own wishes and prepossession, is forced to acknowledge that scientific investigations demonstrate that no life ever appeared independent of antecedent life. The old apothegm of Harvey has been vindicated and invested with more oracular authority than ever, "*Omne vivum ex ovo.*" All life must have a starting point independent of the medium in which it manifests itself. A divine fiat, an omnipotent power is needed to organize the smallest animalcule as well as to call into existence the most complex organism. Like begets like—every plant brings forth seed after his kind. The same law or principle of continuity holds good throughout the universe. Morally and spiritually, as well as in the domain of nature, the inspired word holds good: "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." "Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles." The admonition of St. Paul to the disorderly Corinthians, "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace as in all churches of the saints," has a meaning far beyond the proper conduct of public worship. It enshrines the principle of continuity as applicable to the being and attributes, all the works and ways of the Creator and Upholder of all things in heaven and in earth. The God of nature is also the God of grace, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. He cannot contradict Himself. Those who put their

trust in Him will never be put to confusion. He is the same yesterday, to-day and forever, "with whom is no variableness neither shadow of turning. He never insults the reason or abuses the confidence of those who seek truth for its own sake in accordance with the laws of thought or the principles of divine revelation. Laws and relations in the natural world have their counterparts and correspondences in the spiritual world. All natural objects and relations are parables of spiritual realities. In point of historical manifestation the natural is first and afterward that which is spiritual as St. Paul tells us (1 Cor. 15: 46) in speaking of our relation to Adam on the one hand and our relation to Christ on the other. Adam was a figure or type (typos) of Christ (Rom. 5: 12). By considering our well known and acknowledged relations to Adam as the natural Head of the race we may more fully understand our corresponding spiritual relations to Christ, the spiritual Head of regenerated and glorified humanity. But as the lower order is perfected and glorified in the higher and continually looks with prophetic intimations toward the higher, so must the lower be fashioned for the higher and can be fully understood only in the light of the higher.

The archetype or primordial idea must be the determining factor in the divine mind toward which the lower creations continually tend. Man, as a conscious being, endowed with reason and will, the elements of a self-determining personality, can, in a measure, understand his relations to God and the world around him. In the light of the archetype we may see the possibilities and the true destiny of the type. We have a model and inspiration to fashion our life after the true idea, the original pattern in the mind of God as realized in the person of His Incarnate Son. Order is heaven's first law. There is unity in the Godhead and there is unity in humanity as the form in which alone the Deity could become corporealized. Adam is the common father and natural head of the human race despite all varieties of color, class or condition. "Of one blood hath God made all the nations of men that dwell upon

the face of the earth." So there is harmonious unity in the plan of redemption. All have alike been redeemed by the blood of one and the same Saviour, and all are subjected to the same conditions to become partakers of the great salvation.

Any law, principle or method holding good in one order of existence, must have its counterpart in other departments of the universe.

But while the lower looks up with prophetic intimations, and is glorified in the higher, yet the lower can never pass into the higher order without a new creative act. The vegetable can never be developed into the animal, nor one class or order of animals into another class or order generically different. The doctrine of evolution, in this sense, is contrary to testimony of nature and revelation, and has been rejected, as we have seen, by the ablest scientists, whose preconceived theories led them to wish for a different conclusion. And yet many fallacies or sophisms underlying the theory and arguments of evolution are employed or tacitly held by the theologians and religious teachers, who have a holy horror of anything like evolution in the natural world.

Take, for instance, the doctrine of regeneration—the implanting of a new spiritual life principle by the Holy Ghost. A vast amount of modern theology and religious teaching goes on the assumption that no divine, creative act is needed to transfer a child of Adam into the kingdom of grace and salvation which centres in the adorable person of our Lord Jesus Christ. It seems to be taken for granted that a process of religious culture is all that is necessary to evolve the principle of the divine life from the heart of the natural man.

In this way, by careful religious instruction, mankind may be, and are, transferred from the plane of their fallen life, *i. e.*, from the power of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son.

As if nature could be educated into grace, or the fallen life of the first Adam be developed into the spiritual and glorified life of the second Adam. What is this but evolution run mad

in worse form than its heretical claims were ever advocated by the most skeptical scientists.

Drummond, in his able work on "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," discourses thus in the chapter on "Biogenesis:" "A thousand modern pulpits every seventh day are preaching the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation. The finest and best of recent poetry is colored with this same error. Spontaneous generation is the leading theology of the modern religious or irreligious novel; and much of the most serious and cultured writing of the day devotes itself to earnest preaching of this impossible gospel. The current conception of the Christian religion—in short, the conception which is held, not only popularly, but by men of culture—is founded upon a view of its origin, which, if true, would render the scheme abortive." The learned author then goes on to show from the law of continuity and the analogy of things in the natural world—the utter absurdity and impossibility of regeneration without a direct, divine interposition—a new creative act in accordance with the cardinal principle laid down by the blessed Master, "Ye must be born again."

"No organic change, no modification of environment, no mental energy, no moral effort, no evolution of character, no progress of cultivation can endow any single human soul with the attribute of spiritual life."

The spiritual world is guarded from the world next in order beneath it by a law of Biogenesis—"Except a man be born again—except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." In this respect Christianity is unique. It differs from all other religions, and has the mark of divinity. The order of the natural world illustrates and confirms the supernatural order rooted and grounded in the person of Jesus Christ.

Excellently well has Prof. Drummond spoken of the necessity of regeneration and the radical difference between the spiritual and natural life as proclaimed by the Saviour and the apostles, and as confirmed by the nature of things. And yet with all

his critical acumen he vitiates his argument and falls into the error of much modern theology by confounding regeneration with conversion and conviction, as he evidently does in the latter part of his chapter on Biogenesis.

He ignores the idea of sacramental grace, of Holy Baptism as the sacramental sign and seal of regeneration. God does not mock us with phantoms or abstractions in the most sacred concerns of our holy religion. The practical question comes up, how are we to be incorporated into this new order of existence, or how are we to have the new spiritual life principle imparted to us? Prof. Drummond seems to think that this is done in conversion, or that in some undefined manner it is the result of subjective conditions more or less conscious.

Surely the meaning of the word and the analogy of things would indicate the necessity of an objective transaction, the working of supernatural forces in the depths of our being, apart from any conscious activity on our own part. Something deeper than thought or will; yea, the spiritual basis on which thought, will and every other conscious religious activity rest must be the principle and power of this new life. As in our natural birth, so in our spiritual, the subject is largely passive and receptive, instead of consciously active. The necessity of the sacramental mystery is apparent from the analogy of things no less than from the positive testimony of the sacred Scriptures, and it is strange that Prof. Drummond should ignore or overlook this fact, especially when his own Church Confession enunciates the apostolic faith and teaching that "Baptism doth signify and seal our ingrafting into Christ, and partaking the benefits of the covenant of grace." The Saviour and Apostles couple baptism with the mystery of regeneration as the sacramental sign and seal of the divine transaction. "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." So St. Paul, in his Epistle to Titus, tells us that "after the kindness and love of God, our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to

His mercy He saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour." The Apostolic Commission and terms announced by St. Peter to penitent Jews on Pentecost clearly involve the same idea, and couple baptism with the bestowal of all the blessings, prerogatives and privileges pertaining to the kingdom of God. Everywhere it confronts us as the rite of initiation into the covenant of grace. It is the sacramental seal of our incorporation into Christ as members of His mystical Body. "As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ."

And the analogy of things requires the recognition of infant baptism as an essential part of the Christian system. If Christ is the second Adam, as we are clearly taught, His redemption must partake of that universal organic nature which characterizes the sin and fall of the first Adam. The remedy must correspond to the nature of the disease. As we are lost in the one, so must we be saved in a corresponding way in and by the other. We are not sinners merely because we imitate the bad example of Adam and wilfully violate the law of God. We are sinners in a deeper sense. We are involved in a misery and ruin deeper and broader than our own individual life. We are born sinners. We partake of the fallen life of the father of the race who violated the divine command, "By one man sin entered into the world and death by sin." So we are saved, if saved at all, by a corresponding process, by becoming partakers of the spiritual life of the new supernatural Head of the race, who, as such, is also Head over all things to the church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. Infant church membership and infant regeneration, through the sacramental energies of the Holy Spirit, are just as consistent and scriptural a part of the orthodox evangelical faith as infant or inherent depravity. It must be so in the nature of things if Christ is the second Adam, and his redemption is the complete antidote for sin as that confronts the ruined race of mankind.

The cure must be co-extensive with the disease ; yea, must have power to conquer the disease. And so it is in the economy of Divine grace. "Where sin abounded grace did much more abound ; that as sin hath reigned unto death even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord."

"In Him the tribes of Adam boast
More blessings than their father lost."

Paradise is regained and more than regained in and through the mediation of the glorified Son of Man. The Scriptures make vast account indeed of personal responsibility. The faith and piety of ancestors will not avail for us if we fail to keep the covenant and remember the commandments of the Lord, to do them as moral, responsible beings, according to the light and opportunity that we possess. With the heart, as the central organ and activity of our spiritual nature, including the will, the affections and conscience, man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. But back of personal conscious activity have we not a right to believe and to say that the regenerative grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, signed and sealed in holy baptism, goes as far in atoning efficacy as the sin of Adam in its condemning power ? If we cannot consciously appropriate the benefits of Christ's mediation by faith, neither have we consciously become partakers of the condemning power of sin inherited by our natural birth. As through the instrumentality of our parents we partake of the fallen life of Adam by natural generation, so through their faith and obedience may we be brought into the gracious covenant relationship with Christ the Second Adam, the new Spiritual Head of redeemed and glorified humanity.

In the fifth chapter of Romans St. Paul argues that as we are lost, and have inherited sin, condemnation, and death, by virtue of our natural relation to the first Adam, so we are saved and inherit righteousness, life and salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ. Yea, as the remedy must be stronger than the disease

to overcome it, so is it in the economy of Divine grace. "Where sin abounded grace did much more abound," etc.

As the Jewish Rabbis used to express it, "The mystery of Adam is the mystery of the Messiah."

Hence the Apostolic commission: "Preach the gospel to every creature," etc.; "Disciple all nations by baptizing them," etc., must be understood as including parents and children. "The promise is to you and your children," as St. Peter explained the gospel method to penitent Jews on Pentecost. Indeed the family relation is the basis of all God's covenant dealings with the children of men. God sets them in families and there is a representative faith and obedience which holds good for those who are not in condition or position to respond personally to the Divine command.

The faith and obedience of parents avails for their children in the covenant of grace and salvation, until it is made void by wilful unbelief on the part of the children. "Come thou and all thy house into the ark," the Lord spake unto Noah, "the like figure whereunto baptism doth even now save us."

Infant membership was the rule of the Old Testament Church. Isaac, the child of promise, received the token on the eighth day, and infant circumcision was the prevailing method until the infant Jesus Himself fulfilled all righteousness by receiving the bloody rite when eight days old. And is Christianity more narrow and exclusive than Judaism? By no means. It breaks down all sectional and race restrictions and in a deeper, broader sense than Judaism, recognises the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man.

The universality of Christ's redemption in efficacy and possibility goes hand in hand with the unity and depravity of the race. "As in Adam all die even so in Christ shall all be made alive." The Son of man is come to save that which is lost. Even so it is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish. Back of all passages teaching or implying household and infant baptism is the fundamental nature and constitution of Christianity itself as a new order of

life, a remedial institution established by the Incarnate Son of God to counteract and overcome the misery and ruin of the fall of mankind. The problem of salvation required a remedy that would reach down to the deep foundations of our fallen life and reconstruct it in the image of a new and supernatural Head. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh." It is human nature under the dominion and condemning power of sin. "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." A hand from heaven must lift us out of the horrible pit and the miry clay. The quickening Spirit of the living God must regenerate us or we are forever undone, dead in trespasses and in sins. And here too we find our true idea and warrant for Christian nurture in the family and the Church. Baptized children are to be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The sense of their covenant relation, their ingrafting into Christ, with all the spiritual blessings and privileges which that relation secures to those who are obedient to the faith, must be brought home to the baptized children by Christian parents. They must be spiritually fed and nourished as lambs of the good Shepherd's fold. They must be recognized and taught to regard themselves as belonging to the good Shepherd's fold. Yea, that a personal, saving interest in the atoning blood of Christ has been signed and sealed to them in holy baptism. It is their duty and privilege to recognize the binding obligations of God's holy covenant upon them and personally profess faith in Christ. A precious spiritual birthright has been signed and sealed to them in baptism which they must not barter for a mess of pottage. They belong to the household of God, to the communion of saints and must walk worthy of their high and holy vocation of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. Many Christian parents and pastors fail to grasp and turn to proper spiritual account the vantage ground which such covenant relation affords in the sphere of catechization and Christian training. They treat the baptized child as an alien from the commonwealth of Israel instead of as a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of God. Treated as they gen-

erally are, as uncovenanted worldlings, it is not strange that baptized children should act and look upon themselves as such without any right, title or claim to the privileges and blessings of the covenant of grace and salvation. A large part of religious training in the family and the Church ignores entirely the idea of baptismal grace so dear to our Reformation fathers. The spontaneous generation theory, the evolution of grace from nature without an unction from the Holy One, without a new creative act, without being born again from above of water and the Spirit, is the heretical feeling that has largely supplanted the old Apostolic and Reformed doctrines of sacramental grace and educational religion. Because of this departure from the faith and practice of the fathers some of the grand old Reformation Churches have been shorn of much of their original strength and vigor. "If the foundations be destroyed what shall the righteous do?" What the Church needs to hold her baptized children and convert the uncovenanted world is not new measures, but more faithful use of the divinely-appointed methods, a fuller appreciation of covenant privileges and blessings at hand. These heirs of immortality and glory must be made acquainted with the riches of the inheritance of the saints in Christ Jesus our Lord, to which they have already a right and title sealed in holy baptism. These prodigals who have wandered from the Father's house must be assured that the loving heart of that Father yearns to welcome them back and to give them a new robe and a gold ring. Yea, that a crown of gold and a diadem of beauty and glory awaits every obedient child of the covenant. Hard is the heart and reprobate the mind that will not heed such overtures of grace and mercy, such movings and strivings of the Blessed Comforter.

As natural science has been led to confirm the testimony of Scripture respecting the unity of the race and the necessity of Divine interposition for the salvation of man, so Christian theology has been brought to recognize the Person of Christ as the central fact, the differentiating principle in Divine revelation.

"Without me ye can do nothing," saith the Saviour. "This is the record that God has given to us eternal life and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life, and He that hath not the Son of God hath not life."

All things in heaven and in earth are reheaded or recapitulated in Him, and ye are complete in Him. Humanity reaches the goal of its highest and holiest endeavors in the Person of Immanuel.

God the Father hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world. Eph. 1 : 3-4. Adam is the figure or type, but Christ Jesus is the archetype, the Divine ideal and personal realization of humanity in its harmonious perfection. He was before all things and by Him all things consist. Christianity is the fulfillment, the historical completion or realization of all the types, shadows and institutions of Judaism. And yet it would be wrong to say that the Jewish types and ordinances were the original or divine pattern of the plan of salvation that was personally wrought out by our Saviour in the fullness of time. He was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Rev. 13 : 8. All Mosaic sacrifices were but temporary shadows and prophetic images of the great Reality, who enshrined in His Mediatorial person and work the very substance of good things hoped for by patriarchs, prophets and holy men since the world began ; who is in very truth the spotless Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. What has been said of nature in general—that it is not a mere image or emblem of the spiritual, but a working model of the spiritual—is true, especially of the Old Testament Dispensation, as related to the New and better covenant of grace and salvation. It was a schoolmaster, as St. Paul tells us, or pædagogic institution to train the chosen people for the coming of Christ and the reception of His redemption as the end and fulfillment of all the law and the prophets which had spoken by Divine inspiration since the world began.

The idea of the family as the basis of the covenant, and the fact of infant membership belongs to both Dispensations.

Any law, principle or method underlying that preparatory

and disciplinary Dispensation must find its counterpart, yea, its essential ground and reason, in the spiritual and everlasting kingdom, historically established among men on the Christian Pentecost.

"Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Matt. 5: 17-18. Continuity, we are told, is the expression of the Divine veracity in nature. "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace." Division and disintegration are the work of the devil who abode not in the truth, but was a liar and a murderer from the beginning.

Christ Jesus came to seek and save that which was lost; to restore the lost harmonies of this sin cursed world; to make an at-one-ment between man and his Maker, from whom he had been alienated and separated by sin.

It behooved Christ to suffer as He did not only that all things might "be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms" concerning Him (Luke 24: 45, etc.), but that the purposes of redeeming love and mercy to which those scriptures referred, and on which they were based, might be fulfilled.

There was a divine necessity back of all scripture testimony. Jesus is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end of divine revelation. Christ Jesus is all and in all. He sums up the full meaning of creation and redemption, of nature and grace. While He sums up the old in its best and noblest forms, He is also the founder of a new kingdom, the Author and Source of a new life, the supernatural Head of a new and regenerated humanity. "Behold, I make all things new." "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." "Ye must be born again." In His divine-human person are resident all the springs and forces of the spiritual kingdom. "I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly." The difficulty is not

to find testimony in the New Testament affirming that Christ is the source of a new and undying life to His people. The Gospels and Epistles are full of such testimony; so that the main difficulty is to select passages from the great mass of such evidence where this fundamental truth and fact of our holy religion is so emphatically affirmed on every side.

The scientific principle—no life except from antecedent life—holds emphatically also in the realm of the spirit. "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life."

The glorified Son of man, in living, personal, everlasting union with the Godhead, is the inexhaustible fountain of life and salvation for the ruined race of mankind.

"Thou of Life the Fountain art" is not only a beautiful poetical sentiment enshrined in one of our most precious hymns—it is one of the eternal verities of our holy religion, a primordial fact and principle of Christianity, which ought to control and govern our teaching and preaching, as well as find expression in our songs of praise.

I will close with a few quotations from an article on this general subject which I wrote for a religious periodical beyond the Mississippi over a dozen years ago. On reading Prof. Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," at a much later date, I was gratified to find many lines of thought held in common. But, as before intimated, I was pained and surprised to find a lack of logical consistency and fidelity to scriptural and churchly principles when the learned professor speaks of the *modus operandi*. A purely subjective method of thought does violence to the sacramental energies of the Holy Spirit, the analogy of the truth and the teachings of Apostolic and Reformation fathers. Here are the quotations from the article aforesaid, which will help to supplement the argument of Prof. Drummond:

"If baptism is what the Word of God, the Reformed Church and all other historical denominations make it, then there is

certainly a vast difference between the status of baptized and unbaptized children, and it is the duty of the Church to emphasize this fact in all her teaching. There was certainly a vast difference between the position of Noah and his family, when housed within the Ark, and the position of the impenitent worldlings who were struggling in the flood outside. 1 Pet. 3 : 20-21. A similar relation exists between baptized and unbaptized persons. . . .

"Granted that education means to *draw out*. What, then, will you educe or draw out of an uncovenanted or unbaptized worldling? You can only draw out the old Adam or the consciousness of its sinful and fallen condition in such a state of nature. Develop this fallen humanity as much as you please, but you cannot evolve Christianity by the process. As well try to galvanize a corpse into life. Educated nature will never make a child of grace any more than a plant can be developed into an animal or one species of plants or animals can be developed into another generically different species.

"Many Christian people who are horrified by Darwinism, as applied to the origin of species, are yet guilty of a greater blunder or heresy in applying the same false theory to spiritual and everlasting realities in the kingdom of God. They seem to think that, on the principle of natural selection, the fallen children of Adam, through a mere process of religious instruction, may be developed into children of God. But the word of God and the true analogy of things, natural as well as spiritual, is against this view. 'Ye must be born again' (or born from above), saith the Saviour. A new creative act is needed.

"A principle of life and grace must be implanted by divine power before it can be unfolded. It is only after the child has received the sacramental sign and seal of regeneration that we have a proper basis for Christian education. 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.' 'Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy did He save us by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.'

"Christian education must seek to draw out or develop the life of the new man, the consciousness of our gracious covenant relation to the Lord Jesus Christ and all that is involved in the way of religious privilege, duty and responsibility in that relation.

"Without this starting-point, this second Adam relationship, signed and sealed in holy baptism, we can have no religious education in the proper Christian sense. Our children cannot be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord unless they stand as plants of grace in the garden of the Lord. In short, we say to the baptized child, walk worthy of your high and holy vocation; do not sell your spiritual birthright for a mess of pottage. To the unbaptized we say, 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you.' Come out of the world into the kingdom of God's dear Son. Become 'a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of God.'

"'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.'"

VI.

THEORIES OF THE ATONEMENT.

BY REV. SAMUEL Z. BEAM, D.D.

WE live in an age of "free thinking." This phrase is not used here in an opprobrious sense, but in that sense which is given it by many Christian scholars, who claim freedom to think their own thoughts, and demand, as a right, the privilege of expressing them without any ecclesiastical restraints. This kind of free thinking has become, in fact, a prominent characteristic of the age in every branch of study. After long ages of diligent inquiry and consequent discovery in all branches of knowledge, nothing, after all, seems to be settled. Facts which long ago were thought to be settled are subjected to new investigation, and either new facts are discovered, setting aside old ones, or new theories concerning them are boldly advanced.

According to the latest scientific news, the foundations of nature are beginning to give way, and the very elements, which hitherto were supposed to be ultimate and indivisible, are threatening to dissolve and leave us only one element; and possibly the only indivisible atom may be that of hydrogen.

In science very little, if anything, is professedly *believed*. The scientist must "*know*," or he cannot accept a truth, however true it may be. Still, it does not follow that the conclusions of scientists are always reliable, however plausible they may appear. It is easy enough to make a flourish of trumpets about experimental truth and to relegate everything which *we* have not experienced, or cannot understand, to the region of the "unknowable," or the "unthinkable," or the "incredible," or the "mythical." And yet there is a universe of truth which was never "dreamed of in our philosophy."

In the sphere of religious truth the same restless and unsatisfied activity impels scientific minds, and unscientific minds too, to new investigations of old truths and to republish them under new forms. Attempts are made to put the truth in a more satisfactory mold in order to adapt it to non-receptive minds, and, if possible, make it more palatable to those to whom it is distasteful in its naked form.

Sometimes the truth is thus admirably elucidated; but at others, we are sorry to say, it is obscured. We may become so intensely "free" and "scientific" in our thinking as to obscure our faith; and our theory may be made so unsubstantially beautiful in form as to be only a castle in the air, without a solid foundation or a living occupant. Under pressure of such free-thinking scientism, the old creeds, in some quarters, are giving way. No; that is too strong. The creeds will, probably, *never* give way. But their forms are crumbling, and demands for new expressions of the old faith are forcing themselves upon the churches. Even the staid old Free Church of Scotland is said to be contemplating a revision of its creed, and leading writers in all the churches seem, in one form or another, to advocate such revisions. The history of the past ages of the Church is a witness to the necessity of new formulas, to suit the exigencies of the times and adapted to the intellectual advancement of mankind. Such necessity in our times is not to be regretted, because it is an evidence that the Church is advancing, and in this way is able to show her universal character, by which she can adapt herself to the needs of men in every passing age.

But in this age, perhaps more than in any other, there seems to be a general rooting up of foundations, an iconoclastic disposition to tear down, pull to pieces, to atomize and dissolve the indissoluble. No truth is too insignificant to attract attention, none too important to be left unmolested, and none too sacred to escape dissection.

All this is not to be lamented, though precious truths may be sorely handled; for truth cannot eventually suffer from in-

vestigation; but, on the contrary, the more searching the investigation, the more firmly it will be found to stand.

This general uneasiness concerning the old articles of faith, though, in some men, it may have its root in skepticism or in a desire to appear smart, is doubtless aroused by a deeper cause, in the Christian consciousness of the age. "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we may." Along with this uneasiness concerning the articles of faith, and the desire to break away from them, wild as it proves to be in too many individual cases, there is growing up an unusually strong feeling after unity among the dislocated members of the body of Christ. May not this seemingly unbridled, free-thinking individualism, breaking, as it does, with the old forms of faith, be providentially opening the way for a more general consensus of faith, on which all denominations may eventually unite, and bring the members of the body of Christ into their normal relations as organs of one body, "fitly framed together, and growing unto a holy temple in the Lord?" (Eph. 2: 21). This may seem to be a wild speculation; but is it not as reasonable, to say the least, as it is to think of a union of all the churches of Christendom, with their present legion of Confessions of Faith? In fact, it appears much more reasonable. Men will not unite their forces in any enterprise unless they can agree, and this is peculiarly true in matters relating to religion. The history of Christian missions abundantly proves this position. No heathen ever bends the knee to Christ, by a genuine conversion, until his old faith is removed. And no Christian denomination will ever consent to lose its identity in a universal Christian Church until it has seen the defects in its own creed and cultus. Perhaps this uprooting of old forms of faith, this insatiable questioning, this bold iconoclasm, may be just the thing, under the Spirit's guidance, which is to open the eyes of Christ's people to behold the defects, each in their own sects, which have long been visible to others. In this respect we may be led to adopt that sensible couplet of Burns:

"O, wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see oursels as ithers see us."

Then we would be willing to unite with others, on an equal footing, whom we may find, in all respects as good as we.

But, notwithstanding we may think we see the possibility of so great a good resulting from such radical upheaval of the foundations of religion, we can not close our eyes to the great danger, that many may make shipwreck of their faith. As regards religion itself, we can apprehend no danger. Christianity has proven itself superior to all adverse influences. It has stood the storms of nineteen centuries of persecution, criticism, and determined opposition : and like the oak exposed in an open field to the unrestrained blasts that sweep over it, it has taken deeper root, and grown stronger, in consequence of the storms, and of its efforts to resist them. No criticism, therefore, and no attempts to change creeds, and no theories adverse to scripture doctrines, will ever be able to overthrow it. The delinquencies of its votaries may retard its work of elevating and saving the world, but yet,—“The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea” (Hab. 2 : 14), and the Christian Church is the great instrumentality through which the Holy Spirit of truth will effect this world-embracing purpose.

But reckless individuals, enamored, and fascinated with their fancied freedom of thought, and pleased with their ingenuity which they mistake for science, priding in their independence, and scorning the antiquated orthodoxy of ecclesiastical authority, have been known to rush on in their course of invention, till they discovered themselves floundering in the mists of error, and wallowing in the mire and confusion of skepticism.

Investigation is a necessity to an inquiring mind. But it is well, in our investigations of religious truth, not to wander too far away from what is written in Holy Scripture. Here, we think, is the danger that threatens many of the theorizers of the day, on the most momentous questions that engage the attention of the human mind. No theory, however ingenious in its invention, or beautiful in its construction, or logical in its reasoning, is to be implicitly trusted, if it does not harmonize

with the teachings of the Bible. If it will not stand the test of this touchstone, it will in the end be found to be false, even though it arrogates to itself the sanction of science. For science itself has frequently demonstrated, that its own most significant truths are never in conflict with revelation, though many of them are found to contradict, and eventually to overthrow, misinterpretations of the Bible.

Most theories on important themes can rightly claim some show of truth, and as far as they are true, they ought to be accepted. But many theories, when divested of the errors they contain, will consist of only fragments of truth, which are worth more, separated from the theories, than they can be in juxtaposition with error.

This, we think, will hold true with most theories concerning the atonement of Christ. The efforts made, at intervals from the time of Irenæus and Origen, down to the present day, to construct a true theory of the atonement, have all succeeded in bringing out some crumbs of truth. But it is very doubtful whether any one has advanced far beyond Irenæus, who was the first of the Fathers to attempt an analysis of the nature of redemption, and a development of the significance of the atonement. His theory may not, indeed, be complete in all particulars, but as far as it goes, it is in harmony both with reason and with Revelation. So far, therefore, we think it will never be superseded by anything better. Much may be added, of a supplementary character, without doubt. It is certain that the human mind has advanced during these eighteen centuries, and with incredible strides in the last fifty years. Much too has been added to the general stock of human knowledge; so that we enjoy, of necessity, a broader culture than our ancestors could, and have means, far superior to theirs, for acquiring more than they knew. The opening up of the old world, the unbarring of the doors that formerly kept travellers from exploring the ruins of ancient cities and temples, the changed attitudes of Oriental peoples toward foreign visitors, and the desires of modern tribes to know more of their own

ancient history, all combine to aid us in securing a knowledge of ancient peoples and their religions, which our forefathers, without these facilities, could not acquire.

From the new stand-point of historical knowledge, acquired from tombs, temples, palaces, catacombs and coins, we have become able in our day to discover new beauties and new meaning in many portions of the Bible, which hitherto were inexplicable. Many of the discoveries thus made have become corroborative evidence for Biblical statements, which were denied by skeptical critics, on the ground that no other ancient records were known that harmonized with its assertions. But the long-buried records, which have been unearthed, have served the two-fold purpose of correcting historical mistakes, and of proving the general accuracy of Scripture accounts. So that the critics have been able, in many cases, to correct Biblical interpretations, and in others, to triumphantly vindicate formerly disputed passages. The idea of sacrifices has thus been modified. By a comparative study of religions and their significance for their votaries, the true purpose and aim of vicarious sacrifice is better understood. The true idea of God, and of His intention in introducing sacrificial rites among His people, we better appreciate when we see them in contrast with the false ideas of heathenism. The study of primitive religions exhibits the universal human notion of vicarious sacrifice, indicating that the principle is inseparable from the true nature of humanity. And when we see it practically applied in the religious rites of all peoples, both ancient and modern, we have a strong presumption of its divine origin and sanction. And again, when, in addition to this historical truth, we learn, from a scientific investigation of nature, that the same principle holds good there, we have a well-nigh unanswerable argument in favor of the atonement, whereby we, as Christians, believe we are saved. There is no principle more clearly demonstrated in nature, than that which requires the death of one to secure life for another; and vicarious sacrifice is as common as life itself. Every mother, in every order of animated existence, in a very great

degree, sacrifices herself for her offspring. But there are so many ways in which this principle is exhibited that we cannot attempt to name them. Any thinking mind will readily conceive of such sacrifices as soon as the idea is suggested. In saying all this we are, it is true, only repeating what has been said before. But truth is worth repeating.

The idea, that the atonement of Christ involves a vicarious sacrifice, is offensive to some minds, because, to them, it seems to represent God as delighting in "blood and torture." Such persons profess to believe in a God of nature, and a God of love, and they set him over against the God of revelation, who appears to them to delight in blood, and so offends their sensitive minds by His "anger and cruelty." The God of revelation does not need the testimony of men, and He has not authorized them to apologize for His conduct. Christ rejected such vindication, as being independent of it. We know that to hear Christ is to believe, and to know His doctrine, as truth, is to obey it. But it may be well for the deist, and for some so-called believers in the God of the Bible, to be reminded that the God of nature exhibits really all the characteristics which they seem to dislike in the God of the Bible. To see this, they need only to remember, what was alluded to a little while ago, that in nature, the life of one order of beings depends, in a great degree, on the death of another; and that this principle is discernible in all parts of the visible creation. Does this indicate that the God of nature delights in blood? We think not. Neither does the idea of atonement, by means of vicarious sacrifice, imply that God, the Lord, can be appeased only with blood. But it shows His willingness to suffer with, and for, His creatures in the only way in which God can suffer: namely, in the person of His incarnate Son. The atonement is God's way of delivering man from sin and its penalty. And in this view, it is simply a grand display of infinite righteousness on the one hand, and a sweet and winning exhibition of His grace and mercy on the other. So far, however, only one side of the atonement has come into view: that side in which it reaches its culmination. Viewed as

a whole, the atonement includes the whole life of Christ, from beginning to completion; or, in fact, His whole being, embracing all that He is, together with all that He did and suffered. This conception, of course, involves the original and more complete idea of atonement, which may be defined as *at-one-ment*, or reconciliation. If this view is correct, then His sufferings, and death are only the culmination of a process, which actually began at the moment of His conception, developed itself with His incarnate life, and reached its perfect consummation in His exaltation to the right hand of the Father. In Him, as the incarnate Mediator and God-man, a reconciliation is effected for mankind *in general*, because in Him, according to the grand idea of Irenæus, humanity is "recapitulated," or reheaded, and reaches its *completion* (*Ἀνακεφαλαιώσις*). Thus the law of human life is fully realized in Him, and God's ideal of a perfect manhood is reached. In Him, therefore, God is reconciled to man, because man is brought into harmony with God, and God can say, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." This was said primarily of Christ personally, but through Him of the humanity in general of which He is head.

But the full salvation of the individual can be secured in Him only by the personal co-operation of the individual, through repentance and faith, followed by a life of obedience, under the inspiration and direction of the Holy Spirit.

But why must the atonement involve the passion and death of Christ? Because the conditions of human life could not be fully met without it. Death has become the heritage of our race in consequence of sin; and, as the wages of sin, death is one of the conditions of human existence. When, therefore, the Son of God undertook the work of atonement, by means of the incarnation, He could complete his salutary purpose only by suffering and death. But this involves the shedding of His blood, because "without the shedding of blood there is no remission" (Heb. 9: 22). "It became Him . . . to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through suffering" (Heb. 2: 10). "For He hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin"

(2 Cor. 5 : 21). "For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us" (1 Cor. 5 : 7). "The church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood" (Acts 20 : 28). "Bare our sins in His own body on the tree" (1 Pet. 2 : 24). "Ye are bought with a price" (1 Cor. 6 : 20). "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John 1 : 7). Such passages need no comment. Their meaning is well understood and accepted by all who are satisfied with the "blood theory." They can mean nothing else, except to those who attempt to manufacture a more satisfactory theory of the atonement by explaining away their most obvious meaning and sense. Many more passages might be quoted to the same purpose. The "blood theory" and the "satisfaction theory" alike find ample justification in such statements of Holy Scripture.

The idea of a substitutionary offering and of a purchase with the price of blood, underlies these and many kindred passages, and, in fact, all those portions of divine revelation which relate to the redemption of mankind. The "bearing of our sins in His own body on the tree" is a real substantial fact of history; and it signifies our actual deliverance from them by means of Christ's sacrifice. Nor can it be pressed into the service of that theory, which makes His sacrifice merely an enabling act on Christ's part, by which we can, by our faith and obedience, make satisfaction for our own sins. However revolting these Scripture truths may be to the sensitive consciences of theorizing theologians, it will require a great stretch of imagination to make them square with the "moral influence theory," or the "enabling theory," or with any theory, which attempts to rob the atonement of its deepest and most significant purpose. For, explain and theorize as we may, and call to our aid all the philosophy and science we can muster for the purpose, there is still no getting away from this fundamental principle of the atonement, without a flat denial of sacred Scripture, or an explanation of it, which leaves no sense or meaning for the ordinary reader. And he who succeeds in removing this obnoxious sense of Holy Scripture, may indeed free himself from

the fetters that bound him to the word of God; but his freedom will only guide him out into a boundless sea of speculation, where, without compass or chart, or the light of the sun or stars, his frail craft must founder on the shoals of skepticism, or be swallowed in the maelstrom of infidelity. After all, the true sense of divine revelation is that which authenticates itself to the simple mind of the believing soul, without the aid of philosophy or logic. The most obvious meaning is generally the truest and best. All attempts to save God from the odious charge of "anger and cruelty," or to relieve Him from His character of an "avenger," by eviscerating His own word of its contents, can only end, if persisted in, in bringing us into conflict with Himself. In trying to make His conduct appear satisfactory to reason, in any such way as this, we weaken our faith, and must eventually lose it. He has not put us under obligation to explain His mysteries, or to make His word satisfactory to every man's reason, especially when it makes unreasonable demands. The truth is, God's mysteries are incapable of such explanation, or else God Himself would have made them plain. Every thing in the economy of grace is, in fact, antagonistic to unregenerate human nature; and our reason, even after conversion, still suffers from the disabilities of sin, so that it cannot comprehend fully the mysteries of divine revelation.

The gospel presenting Christ as He actually is, including the sacrifice on the cross, is repulsive to the reason. "The offence of the cross" is the glory of the gospel, and because of this offence, Christ is called "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient" (1 Pet. 2: 8). But why any one of God's "chosen generation" and "royal priesthood" should take offence at it, seems inexplicable, even though they cannot fully understand the mystery of the cross. Jesus Himself preached this gospel, and when He offered "His flesh and blood" as the meat and drink of His people, He did not attempt to make it satisfactory to those who were offended, but by means of it, He showed them their guilt, in order to lead them to repentance. It is "the

offence of the cross" that is salutary. It was the aim of the apostles to know nothing but "Christ and *Him* crucified." "A crucified malefactor" was the sneer with which the gospel was received or repelled by many of its early pagan hearers. St. Paul says, that the Christ has no effect upon those who are confessedly under the law, or "who are justified by the law" (Gal. 5: 4). "For if righteousness come by the law, then is Christ dead in vain" (Gal. 2: 21). And the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, especially in chapters 9 and 10, regards and treats the sacrifice of Christ as the means of redemption, and His blood as the means of purging our consciences, because He obtained eternal redemption for us, and entered into the holy place by His own blood. He tells us, too, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission." He tells us, furthermore, that "Christ hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself" (Heb. 9: 26), and "was once offered to bear the sins of many" (v. 28). Again, in harmony with this, St. Peter declares—"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust" (1 Pet. 3: 18). Also, St. Paul affirms—"Christ died for the ungodly" (Rom. 5: 6); "While we were yet sinners Christ died for us" (v. 8); "Justified by His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life" (Rom. 5: 9, 10). And yet again, if possible, with still greater emphasis, "God set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins . . . that He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus" (Rom. 3: 25, 26). And just because "He is the propitiation for our sins," and "for the sins of the whole world," we are "freely justified by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3: 24).

These New Testament Scriptures fully accord with, and clearly elucidate, and completely fulfil, the Old Testament prophecies, beginning with Gen. 3: 15, and including Isaiah 53,

and Daniel 9: 24, and in fact, the whole sacrificial system of that preparatory dispensation of Israel. We have, in Christ's vicarious sacrifice, a clear, full, and perfect exhibition of the meaning of the Propitiatory or mercy seat, over which the cherubim hovered, in the inner sanctuary of the temple. Kneeling before this, the high priest received the gracious communications, which God condescended to make, in behalf of the worshiping people. In the Old Testament worship there were, Priest, Altar, Sacrifice, and Mercy Seat, all separate, but mechanically brought together in the ceremonial services of the Law, to teach the necessity of sacrifice, bloody offering, and repentance for the remission of sins. God could not be approached by a sinner, except through a mediator with due offering for sin. Without the offering no worshiper could be accepted. And yet this was all typical, shadowy, and anticipatory, pointing to something more real and substantial. In Christ, Priest, Altar, Victim, and Propitiatory, are all combined. "With His precious blood He hath *fully satisfied* for all our sins" (Heid. Catechism, Quest. 1.). The doctrine of satisfaction for sins, by the suffering of their penalty, is plainly and unequivocally taught in the Heidelberg Catechism, and is strongly fortified by many passages in the Old and New Testaments, and in fact, by the general principles underlying the whole idea of redemption as taught in sacred Scripture. "Satisfaction must be made." Men can not make it: "but on the contrary they daily increase their debt." "No mere creature can sustain the burden of God's wrath against sin so as to deliver others from it." The inference follows, that we must have a deliverer, who *can sustain* this burden, or we are lost. This Deliverer is described in Question 15. Then in Question 19 the Mediator it is declared, "must be in one person also very God," "that He might, by the power of His Godhead, sustain in His human nature, the burden of God's wrath, etc." The questions in the Catechism from the twelfth to the eighteenth, inclusive, all assert, or assume, that Christ actually made satisfaction for our sins, bore the burden of God's wrath

as a penalty; and that, by so doing, "He obtained for, and restored to us, righteousness and life." In all this, it is implied, He simply answers the demands of divine justice, which requires that "the same human nature which had sinned, should likewise make satisfaction for sin."

It might be said in reply to all this, that the Catechism is not an inspired book, that its doctrines seemed right enough for former days, but now that we have passed on to new and higher ground, the antiquated teachings of the Catechism must be left behind. Many Presbyterian divines of the day have so gotten beyond the Westminster Standards, and are clamoring for a re-statement of the articles concerning predestination, especially as regards reprobation. Against this there may be little objection, since, from our standpoint, at least, this doctrine never was in perfect harmony with revelation. But, while the doctrine of the atonement, as embodied and taught in the Heidelberg Catechism, may not be inspired in the form of words, it would be a difficult task to prove that it is not in harmony with divine inspiration. On the contrary, we think we have clearly shown that it does harmonize with Holy Scripture. The very words used, both in the Old and New Testaments, ought to be sufficient to settle the meaning of the Scriptures on this point. In Exod. 30: 10 we find *כִּפָּרִים* translated "an atonement;" in ver. 12, *כִּפָּר*, "a ransom," and in Num. 35: 31, 32, "a satisfaction." This word is also translated, in one of its forms, "to cover with sacrificial blood," and means, therefore, "to appease," "to ransom," "to expiate," "to purge away."

In the New Testament the words are equally explicit and clear. Here we find *ἱλασσεσθαι*, "to make," or "render propitious," "to expiate," etc. (Heb. 2: 17), and modifications of this word occur in 1 Jn. 2: 2, as *ἱλασμός*, "a propitiation;" also in chap. 4: 10. Again, in Rom. 3: 25, *ἱλαστήριον*, "a propitiatory sacrifice," "a propitiator," "the mercy seat," "the cover of the ark of the covenant."

In 1 Cor. 6: 20, still another word equally strong occurs—

'*Ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς*, "For ye are bought with a price," or "ye are redeemed." And again, Christ is called our ransom, *λύτρον*, because He releases us from our bondage, by paying a ransom (1 Pet. 1: 18; Heb. 9: 12).

All this shows that the sinner who cannot make satisfaction for himself or for another, must himself be saved, if saved at all, by a propitiation, a ransom. The ransom must be paid by one who is not a sinner. Just such an One is presented in the person of Jesus, who, sinless *per se*, takes upon Himself the burden of sin, and bears it away, bears it in His own body. As a Priest, He offers the great efficacious sacrifice. As victim, He is Himself the Suffering Lamb, led to the slaughter, to take away the sin of the world. As Altar, He receives the burden of sin in His own body, and purges it away, even as the fire consumed the sacrifice. As Propitiatory or Mercy Seat, He receives and cleanses the penitent sinner who falls down before Him and cries for mercy.

Thus, in Jesus Christ, all priesthood and sacrifice, whose fundamental idea is expressed by the words "propitiation" and "expiation," reach their highest purpose and aim, and in His atoning death they find their consummation and complete fulfilment. He is the true Priest and the true Sacrifice, because, as the Man Christ Jesus, He is the only Mediator between God and men. In this capacity, by His voluntary offering of Himself on the cross, following, of course, His life of perfect obedience, whereby He became perfect through suffering, He takes away our sins and delivers us from the wrath of God, and in so doing, He opens the way for our reconciliation with God. This idea, in fact, underlies all religions, the radical aim of which is to appease the wrath of the offended deities. It is true, indeed, that the heathen have a poor, and inadequate conception of the love, or of the justice of God; but this is, because they have no true conception of sin. To them sin appeared rather as a *privatio* than a *culpa*, and accordingly their offerings were not sacrifices of penitence for sin, but of fear, in order to keep off the anger of the cruel gods. They did not love their divini-

ties, but worshipped them only to escape their hands. It was quite otherwise with the Prophets and Psalmists of Israel, who appreciated the love and compassion of Jehovah. They trusted in His mercy and grace, while at the same time they often speak of His wrath against sin. They saw and felt the sad reality of sin to be, as in truth it is, the principle that sundered them from God, and rendered them obnoxious to punishment. They knew that it was not a privation which they innocently suffered, but a fault for which they were guilty; and in their worship there was the sense of gratitude that God had forbore their punishment so long. God's wrath is only the other side of His love, or it is love inverted. And it is manifested only because the revelations of His love are rejected. God cannot look with complacency upon any intelligent creature who has spurned Him by an act of rebellion. And, although He never ceased to love the world, yet the necessity of His nature demanded that men, who had sinned against him, must be restored again to His favor, before they could enjoy the benefits of that love. Divine justice, in its own nature, required a penalty for sin, and divine holiness enjoined a purification of human nature, as the condition indispensable for a re-union with God. At the same time, the moral nature of man must be met, and the conscience awakened by an exposition of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. In view of this demand, both from heaven and from earth, from God and from man, the eternal *Λόγος*, the only being in the universe who can accomplish a reconciliation, became man. Having been the Mediator of the first creation, He has now become the principle of a new creation, by joining Himself in hypostatic union with human life. In this unique character, He reconciled God to man, and man to God. This He did by His offering of Himself up as a sacrifice, a vicarious sufferer, as a substitute for man, actually suffering the penalty of sin, and satisfying the justice of God, and, at the same time, delivering man from the fear of death, and opening up a way of access to God; and in the transaction He also exhibited to man the monstrous heinousness of sin, in order that he might

hate and flee from it. He made more than a merely subjective reconciliation. His death accomplished more than a merely moral influence, and more than a psychological change in man. It was more than a display of sympathy for sinning and suffering men. It was a *redemption from sin* by an *adequate ransom*. It was the payment of a debt, no matter to whom, which the debtor, in his bankrupt state, could not pay. "He gave Himself a ransom for many: He laid down His life for the sheep." "He became sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him." Thus "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself."

This, man could never do. True goodness could not be produced by man in his fallen and sinful condition, which involved rebellion against God. For such rebellion resulted in a disability which the unaided powers of man had no means of overcoming. Hence all the sacrifices, from that of Abel down through the ages to the very last that was offered on the altar of God before the sacrifice and oblation ceased, were entirely insufficient to take away a sin or to purify the conscience. (Heb. 9: 12-14.)

Hence the only way of salvation for sinful men is to be found in the plan which God has revealed to us in the Gospel, by which a perfect sacrifice is brought by man, with his own free will, prepared by a life of love and obedience and sinless rectitude, and by which also an act of divine grace, exhibiting the infinite love of the merciful Father, secures for poor suffering men the possibility of divine forgiveness, and with the power to begin a new life that shall be in harmony with the will of God. The Reconciler is Christ, our *Redeemer*, who has taken the place of humanity, united it with Godhood, and actually *saves* us from our sins and from their *penalty*. He did not merely afford us the means by which to save ourselves, but *He saved* us by becoming our *redemption*. And now, in consequence of this redemption, we are able to appropriate the benefits of His salvation by repentance and faith, accompanied by a diligent and proper use of the means of grace.

We who are saved are now capable of doing God's will, not simply because He set us an example, and showed us the way, and died a martyr's death to manifest His sympathy for suffering sinners, which is all very true as far as it goes, but because His redemption places us in a different attitude towards God. God is reconciled to man in Christ's person, and through Him we have access to a throne of grace and mercy, which we could not venture to approach before. When we now approach the mercy-seat in His name, God's ears are open to our cry, and He can be just, and justify the penitent sinner. We may say then that Christ's obedience unto death has become a bond of restoration and reunion between man and God. God's love is fully and manifestly revealed in this at-one-ment. And so the penitent sinner sees in it the assurance of a kind acceptance with God, whom he can now approach as a loving Father, ready to receive him with open arms, as a trophy of His own glorious and redeeming grace. He realizes in his own experience, by the inward testimony of the Spirit of Christ, that "God is love."

Christ fully and absolutely obeyed God's will, both in His life and in His death, by active obedience and by suffering, and thus He manifested in the most positive way that He loved God with all the powers of His soul. In addition to this, He also manifested in the same way his undying love to man. In a word, He fulfilled the law of God perfectly, both by His active and passive obedience, which no man ever did before. But as He did this under the condemnation of sin, in consequence of which He died, His love involved the element of *self-sacrifice*; for it is to be remembered that no man took His life. He laid it down of Himself, that He might take it again; it was strictly voluntary on His part. Hence His obedience was well pleasing to God, and His sacrifice endears Him to men. Thus He stands ethically perfect before God by His obedience and suffering, and so meets man's necessity by "satisfying for all his sins and delivering him from all the power of the devil."

The *ethical value* of His atonement is inseparable from His obedience, and its *penal value* from His sacrifice; and both derive their salutary significance from His divine-human personality. So that the inestimable worth of His work or of His passion comes entirely from Himself. The expiatory character of His death, or the propitiatory virtue of His sufferings, is due entirely and solely to His own personal dignity, as Mediator between God and men. But in emphasizing the propitiatory value of His death on the cross for putting away sins, we are, of course, not to lose sight of the original conception lying at the root of the atonement, namely, that of reconciliation or atonement with God, which was accomplished primarily in the constitution of His own unique personality. His expiatory death, followed by His triumphant resurrection and ascension, or exaltation to the right hand of the Father, completed for Himself, and for mankind in general, the work of His atonement. But for us individually it is still going forward in the Church under the immediate agency and direction of the Holy Spirit. Hence we may say that the atonement is still a living, perennial fact and power in the Church, by which individuals are reconciled to God.

The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, in whom Christ is ever present in the Church, carries forward Christ's atoning mercy, through the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, and thereby reconciles men and women unto God. The atonement, therefore, was not finished at the death of Christ, though He made the sacrifice there once for all; but it is still a living, progressive power, which will be finally completed only when the last sinner has been reconciled to God and saved. In its efficacy, of course, it was perfect and complete when Jesus uttered His dying cry upon the cross: "It is finished." But what we mean, is, that its effects in the personal salvation of men were not complete, as, in the nature of the case, they can be consummated only when all the redeemed of the Lord shall have found their inheritance and dwelling-place in the new

heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. For then only will all the elect have been fully reconciled to God.

But the attempt to explain this mystery, so as to make it square with mere reason, or to render it satisfactory to minds not animated by that faith which is wrought by the Holy Spirit, always will result, as it always has resulted, in ignominious failure.

VII.

THE STUDY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

BY PROFESSOR G. F. MULL, A.M.

THE science of education, like all sciences, is subject to changes incident to the process of development. To record these changes, noting the conditions from which they spring, belongs to the province of history, and pedagogics has not been wanting in material to constitute a most interesting and instructive body of historical literature. During the century that is about rounding out its fruitful years, I question whether any other department of human activity has exhibited greater energy and industry, or accomplished more astounding results. The statistics bearing upon the subject are simply bewildering, and we rise from our contemplation of the impressive array of facts and figures, with the unalterable conviction, that chief among the forces and factors of modern civilization, in its secular aspect, are to be counted the universal unflagging interest in educational affairs, and the consequent steady conservation of the best interests of mankind. That the progress made on this line has not always been of the right sort, goes without the saying; but that there has been progress, and substantial progress, running in a tolerably unbroken course through a perplexing maze of ill-considered theories and methods, and unwise experiments, no one familiar with the facts can for a moment question. :

Whilst, however, we readily admit the general truth here stated, we cannot but deplore the uncertainty and indefiniteness still attaching, in the popular mind, to the science of education. Judging from the present aspect of affairs, and in the

light of developments that have taken place within recent years, it would be difficult to answer the question, What is the science of education as approved by the test of practice the world over? Compared with this, the famous question raised in Arndt's familiar ode, "Where is the German's fatherland?" becomes easy, and fairly anticipates the magnificent solution arrived at, notwithstanding the difficulties with which poetic fancy hedged it round. There are systems and systems of education, determined now by this, now by that motive, conditioned by generic, national, and often merely local peculiarities, yielding to the pressure brought to bear now by social, now by political, and again by commercial considerations, and all influenced, no doubt, by the more or less earnest purpose to meet the immediate wants of the people.

For some years past, now, the tendency has been unmistakably toward the practical,—meaning by that an education that will afford its possessor the means of a livelihood,—a marketable commodity, that may be used for the getting of wealth, and through wealth, the comforts and luxuries of living; so that it is not too much to say, that the educational movement of to-day, under the guidance of the popular view, is dominated by considerations of utility. In our own day and country we seem to have reached the climacteric in the period of experimenting; for surely we cannot go much further than we have already come, to the verge, namely, of converting our schools into manual work-shops. The impulse lying back of this movement is part and parcel of that low and narrow spirit, which, in the energetic language of Ruskin, "would turn the human race into vegetables—make the earth a stable, and its fruit fodder." What the end will be, no man can tell; but, until the end come, we are making history and experience, whatever else we may fail of making, and experience has never yet failed of teaching a lesson, however slow we may be in learning the same.

We do not mean to affirm that education ought not to have a practical end; but we do affirm that, in order to be true to

its high function, the purely practical ends ought to be subordinated to the one great aim of developing the whole man to the fullest capacity of all his powers. There can be nothing fragmentary here without working permanent injury. To be complete, the education must be of such a character as to cover the entire scope of our existence from root to branch. The best education is that which unfolds the inner life of our being,—which brings to pass into forms of productive activity the highest possibilities of our humanity,—which has for its supreme end the perfection of our manhood, the free development of the will into the fruit of positive virtues, and the formation of solid Christian character, which must ever be regarded as the true glory of every community.

In this view, the philosophy of education, apart from its various forms of application as found in actual use, becomes plain and rational. Sometimes the fundamental principles underlying it may be buried clear out of sight, but they are never wholly lost to the penetrating vision of the earnest inquirer, and ever and anon they rise again into full and resplendent view, challenging and receiving the renewed confidence of the thoughtful and sober-minded of the passing generations. A respectable conservative minority may always, I think, be relied upon for the maintenance and preservation of the imperishable truth that wisdom is better than knowledge.

“Knowledge and wisdom, far from being one,
Have oftentimes no connection. Knowledge dwells
In heads replete with thoughts of other men;
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.
Knowledge is proud that he has learned so much;
Wisdom is humble, that he knows no more.”

“Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom;”
. . . “the excellency of knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life
to them that have it.” Founded upon this rock, a curriculum of
study has beneath it and within it, running through each and
all of its departments, the only safe unifying principle, which re-

deems it from a wasteful scattering of force, and gives it security, stability, and permanence.

Fortunately, there are still some colleges that have remained firm in their adherence to the old, well-attested idea of a college education, which has for its sole end the comprehensive object of liberal culture. That they may not be swerved from the clearly defined and steady purpose of providing their students with adequate means for obtaining the full benefit of a thorough liberal education, be the popular clamor from without and the pressure of temptation from within never so strong, is an end devoutly to be wished.

The great Dr. Arnold once said, with reference to the relative claims of science and literature: "If I had to choose, I would rather that a son of mine believed that the sun went round the earth than that he should be entirely deficient in knowledge of beauty, of poetry, and of moral truth." Most of us would not find it difficult to agree with him; but happily the study of literature does not involve the exclusion of the study of science, and I mention the circumstance only to indicate the sphere in which literature moves. "The intelligent man," says Plato, "will prize those studies which result in his soul getting soberness, righteousness, and wisdom, and will less value the others." And "it was already the labor of Socrates to turn philosophy from the study of Nature to speculations upon life." And a great master of English prose says: "The truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind and with those examples which may be said to embody truth and prove the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and justice are virtues and excellences of all times and of all places. We are perpetually moralists; but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intel-

lectual nature is necessary; our speculations upon matter are voluntary and at leisure. Physiological learning is of such rare emergence that we may know another half his life without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears. Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation; and these purposes are best served by poets, orators and historians." Let these citations suffice to indicate, in a general way, the measure of importance attaching to literature as an object of study.

The so-called practical sciences are, in various ways, centred upon self, and the material benefits accruing therefrom are a constant stimulus to persistent labor and endeavor; so that, in these days, in the midst of the stupendous forces that are thus naturally and irresistibly operative in summoning us away from the more solemn concerns of our intellectual and spiritual life, into channels of pursuits whose rewards are less remote and more tangible, it should seem as if nothing were needed on our part to emphasize the importance of these studies; it would only be adding impetus to a stream whose current is already so strong as to require the utmost precaution in providing adequate safeguards against the ever-present danger of its breaking through its barriers in a torrent of devastating violence. Self-interest and the greed of men may be trusted to keep alive the zeal that has thus far distinguished the advocates of the practical sciences as the be-all and end-all of education.

With literature it is different; for the rewards it holds out are apparently more remote, less clearly defined from a materialistic point of view, growing slowly and unperceived, and thus stealing, as it were, into the form and fashion of our intellectual and spiritual life. Hence it is that it needs from time to time to have a word spoken in its behalf, lest, in our eagerness for results, we neglect to cherish it as we ought.

Literature has been defined as consisting of a body of classics in the true sense of the word, and a classic, according to a

great French writer, "is an author who has enriched the human mind, who has really added to its treasures, who has got it to take a step further, who has discovered some unequivocal moral truth, or has penetrated to some eternal passion in that heart of man where it seemed as though all was known and explored, who has produced his thought, or his observation, or his invention under some form, no matter what, so it be great, large, acute and reasonable, sane and beautiful in itself, who has spoken to all in a style of his own, yet a style which finds itself the style of everybody—in a style which is at once new and antique, and is the contemporary of all the ages."

In delineating the movement of human life in all its complexity, the man of letters has before him a field of activity bounded only by the boundaries of human history, and reaching far out into the unconfined realm of the spirit-world, whose mysterious undertones are ever reverberating through the world of nature, and finding such expression in the soul of man that even a pagan mind can rise to the lofty conception of Addison's line: "'Tis the divinity that stirs within us." To reduce this to the system and order of a science is not to be thought of. The laborer in this field may, and does, develop his own method; but he cannot prescribe it for any one else. To lay down rules and formulas, as these obtain in science, would be to rob literature of its greatest charm, which consists in the subtle communication of mind with mind, and heart with heart, in an atmosphere of perfect freedom. Literature, even in its form, must be free as thought is free.

Hence it is that every great author has signed and sealed his productions with the image and superscription of his own personality. It is his individuality that re-appears stamped upon the progeny of his mind. It is his originality of thought that makes his work his own. It is his free and flexible treatment of any one of the great problems of the manifold life of society that distinguishes his style. And it is his intelligent interest in, and sympathy with, the great and small concerns

engaging the thought and determining the action of men and women everywhere, that gives him touch and kinship with the throbbing heart of mankind. Finally, and most important of all, it is his clear vision into the domain of moral truth, his keen analysis of human conduct as discovering the motives and intents of the heart, his courageous fidelity to high ideals of duty, his loving interpretation of nature, his comprehensive survey and representation of the trials and struggles, the loves and hatreds, the joys and sorrows, the successes and failures, all those emotions, passions and conditions that are of universal application and common to all ages and peoples,—it is this that makes him a classic and gives to literature perennial quickening power.

The personality, individuality, and originality here spoken of, may not, and indeed ought not to, appear prominently in the foreground; but under the inspiration of true instincts they constitute that subtle something which is ever eluding the grasp of the critical investigator, only to find ready lodgment in the innermost recesses of kindred spirits. The author is lost in his work, absorbed by that breath of humanity which he has sent forth on "winged words," that are sure to strike responsive chords wherever men and women live and move and have their being; for, are they not the bearers of that which makes the whole world kin? In the very nature of the case, then, there can be no such thing as a science of literature. Law is set at defiance by spirit, which is a law unto itself. The human mind, in its processes of creation and in its susceptibilities, cannot be reduced to a matter of diagrams and formulas.

There may be, however, such a thing as the scientific study of literature; but it is doubtful whether the best results can be obtained in this way. By scientific study here is meant the application of the laws of language, of grammar, and of rhetoric to a literary composition; and the scientific method can perhaps in no other respect be so well justified as in the comparative study of literature and history, whereby it may become sufficiently apparent that "the writer, however exceptional his

powers, is never an exotic in his time." In these several respects it cannot be denied that we are greatly indebted to science; for, although we may never by its means so appropriate the substance of literature as to make it a heart-possession, it nevertheless furnishes us with helpful aids in prosecuting our researches, if not much below the surface of the broad domain, still upon lines that lead to stores of useful knowledge.

Thus, language is at times made of prime account, and everything else is made to bend to the purpose of word-study. It is easy to run into this channel, and we are only too prone to stay there. The readiness with which the laws of etymology and philology adapt themselves to the solution of linguistic and glossological difficulties, the fascinating character of the quaint and curious knowledge lurking within the "airy symbols" of thought and speech, and the possibility to weigh and measure actual results and to gloat over their possession in a test examination, render this phase of the study peculiarly attractive to both teacher and pupil. Now, language is a study of the very highest importance, and every rightly constituted curriculum gives it the first place. Our vernacular is a birth-right to be jealously guarded. Though largely a matter of instinct and hereditament, it is capable of development, and, by a mysterious correspondence, its development means also a development of ideas and thought-power. But literature is not to be so used. It is a reversal of the true order by making that the end which ought to be only incidental and subsidiary.

Again, grammar is unduly emphasized, and the chief stress is laid upon the structure of phrases and sentences, their relation to each other in connected discourse, and all that is comprehended under the term syntax. We parse and parse until the very heart is parsed out of the body and form of the real living presence there enshrined; and for all our pains we get—what? A fleshless and bloodless skeleton, scientifically dismembered, with the several parts duly numbered and la-

belled, like the beautifully mounted specimens of the naturalist! Shall we, then, not parse? Yes; but not so as to delude ourselves with the idea that we are thereby studying literature. Let it not be supposed that I am disparaging grammar. It is a noble science, and I have unbounded respect for it, as meaning the "reflective study of language, for a variety of purposes, of which correctness in writing is only one, and a secondary or subordinate one—by no means unimportant, but best attained when sought indirectly." That grammar makes rules and laws for language, is an erroneous view that has led to most vicious results; and that literature is "law-shaped," and consequently worthy of our attention only according as it is referable to these rules and laws, is an opinion bordering upon the absurd. The same reckless assumption, in another sphere, would have us believe that the natural sciences are, in the order of their relative importance, to be esteemed before Nature herself, and that we cannot hear the music of her myriad-tongued voice, save as it is clothed in the stilted language of formal, technical interpretation.

As the sole business of physical science, for example, is to reduce to order and system the facts discoverable in the phenomena of the natural world, and record the same; so the sole business of grammar is "to report the facts and usages of good language, and in an orderly way, so that they may be easily referred to, or learned by any one who has occasion to do so." But the grammaticasters, who have so much to do with current literary criticism, as it is dished up for text-book use, revel in the processes of the laboratory, and by the intrusion of much formal grammar spoil the study of literature for its own noble ends and for its own sake. Indeed, the impression is unavoidable that, after all, perhaps, grammar was made before language, and that literature is useful only as it furnishes a stock of illustrative material. It is suggestive, however, that "no one ever changed from a bad speaker to a good one by applying the rules of grammar to what he said;" and it is just as true and significant that the literary merit of a composition is not

identical with grammatical accuracy, or, in other words, that a literary composition does not give up its secret to the probings of the verbal anatomist.

Then again, we have the element of rhetoric called prominently into service, and here there is an unlimited field for the wildest play of perverted ingenuity. Books and books upon the subject flood our schools, and along with elocution, that great *sine qua non* of a modern course of study, they are doing their utmost to contort literature into a mechanism; for it is only in its restricted character as a mechanism, that rhetoric, whether it be viewed as a science or as an art, has any business with it. "Milton's sublimity, Sterne's elusive wit, or Bacon's weighty sententiousness," are endowments, and not acquisitions that come from working up these qualities by rule. "The student," it has been said, "can burden himself with the names of some two hundred and fifty figures of speech; but when he gets beyond the name and inquires after the usage, he may safely omit two hundred and thirty-five of them as superfluous,—they are merely those spontaneous and unlabored modes of expression of which De Quincey says, 'the rack would not have forced any man to do otherwise.'" Rhetoric, especially as a constructive art, is highly useful, and deserves even better attention than it gets; but for the purpose we have in mind, it can only serve in the very humble capacity of a handmaid to be very judiciously employed.

As for elocution,—we approach the subject somewhat timidly, as it holds so large a place in public esteem,—its connection with literature is not unimportant, especially in those forms which legitimately belong to the province of spoken discourse. The danger lies in the facility with which it lends itself to exhibitory purposes. The hold it has upon popular favor and the vigor with which the field has been cultivated, are in no way more strikingly illustrated than by the present unequivocal status of that phenomenon among the developments of recent years,—the public and private "Recitation." In point of impressiveness, the electric annunciator is nothing

compared with the literary enunciator. It cannot be regarded as a new thing either, for near three centuries ago, we hear a famous innovator of his time, who has since been cherished as the "dear dread" and idol of the intellectual world, exclaim: "O, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings; who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise." It is to be feared we look too much for our audience and our applause among the groundlings. And we may well take to heart the special observance, made at the same time and by the same illustrious personage, and which cannot be too often repeated, that we "o'erstep not the modesty of nature." That this may not appear as a somewhat strained introduction of irrelevant matter, it is perhaps enough to say, that in the curriculum of a Classical Institution that recently came under my notice, in the department of English, among the required studies, it is all rhetoric, style, elocution, voice-culture, with all the accessories, no doubt, of facial expression, attitudinizing and "sawing of the air" (the only excuse for which is that they have no gymnasium, where these things, I imagine, are best promoted,)—until we get to the senior year, where English Literature first appears under its own name as a required study. Now it seems to me that, to say the least, this is an irrational order of arrangement.

Rhetorical principles are best discerned and appreciated by studying their effect in the concrete forms of literary expression, and it is quite immaterial whether we be able to call them by their right names or not. The spring and source of the wondrous power lodged in clearness, precision, force, and beauty of utterance, must ever be sought by patiently following and exploring the streams that have enriched the domain of our literature with never-failing freshness. The process is rather one of unconscious absorption; and if we be not lured from the right track by the many false scents that vitiate the atmosphere, we cannot pursue the study of our noble literature with-

out, to some appreciable degree, "cultivating that golden art—the steadfast use of a language in which truth can be told; a speech that is strong by natural force, and not merely effective by declamation; an utterance without trick, without affectation, without mannerisms, and without any of the excessive ambition which overleaps itself as much in prose writing as it does in other things."

There is one other sense in which it has been sought to make the study of literature scientific and practical; that is, by investigating and establishing the connection between literature and history. This is the well-known method of comparison that has been so productive of results in other departments of learning. And here it is possible to claim for our subject a fair share of the consideration that is so universally accorded the better-known processes of scientific research. For we are working along well-defined lines, when, in the later stages of our study, we seek to connect one author with others, and each again with his generation, his century, or his age, setting for ourselves the inquiry, for example, "not, what Marlowe's drama means, or Spenser's poem, or Sidney's sonnets, or Hooker's theology; but, as a product of the seventeenth century, what does the Elizabethan literature mean?"

The most recent deliverance we have seen, bearing upon this question, is in the nature of an eloquent and sagacious plea made by Rev. A. W. Jackson before the students of Colby University, in behalf of the systematic study of literature as of co-ordinate value with the sciences in our colleges; and that we may fortify our own position by such deference as may be safely paid to the spirit that rules in our educational affairs, as well as that we may be aided in removing from our science-imbuéd minds the lingering suspicion that literature is entirely incapable of scientific treatment, we cannot forbear quoting a few significant passages from the treatise referred to:—"On the most casual survey, do we mark a correspondence between a time and its literature—a correspondence which, as one explores more deeply, becomes more impressive. And this

correspondence makes possible what I call the scientific study of Literature; the study of it, that is, as an effect in relation with its cause, binding the two together in one coherency of thought. This is the root idea of science, I suppose, effect and cause placed over against each other. Geology, physiology, astronomy, are sciences in no other sense than this; and the facts they deal with would yield as little science as the facts of literature, if studied as literature is prevailingly studied."

The law here regnant may not be so fixed as that "mysterious necessity by which stars burn and daisies bloom;" but it may surely be regarded as of kindred character with "that which piled the Laurentian rocks," and has written upon the geological strata of the globe those ineffaceable characters, through which the foot-prints of the ages have been traced. So in literature; only, instead of finding there the characteristic forms of animal and vegetable life of bygone ages, we discover, as preserved in amber, the movings of the spirit of mankind in all the multiform variety of its teeming life. It is this embodiment of the spiritual life of the human race that constitutes the essence of literature, and all right study of it must be directed by an ever-present recognition of this fact. It is this, too, that makes it so difficult to outline a specific course with a view to recitations. Questions and answers are of little avail, excepting as the mere formal knowledge connected with the subject is concerned. You may ask, and have glibly answered, such questions as, "What is the name of a particular author? and where or when was he born?" But they are the very things with which an author has had the least to do, and add not one jot or tittle to the intellectual equipment of the learner.

In this way, to be sure, you may get a body of material suitable for the purpose of grading and examining; but when it is considered that the prime office of literature as an object of study, is in the cultivation of the imagination, the sympathies and affections, the moral sensibilities, purity of thought and chasteness of diction, in the awakening of the poetic sense, the quickening of impulses to high endeavor and noble achieve-

ment, the refinement of manners—all of them spiritual qualities—it becomes plain that we have to do here with a growth, which, being but just started, cannot be disturbed in its root-beginnings without serious detriment, any more than a tender young plant can be pulled up to have its roots microscopically analyzed without destroying its young life. All the best things in the world come by slow growth, and so the best things in literature come to us, we scarcely know how; but of this we may be sure—the process is a silent one. Carlyle says, somewhere, that the oak, though it may grow to be two thousand years old, makes no great noise until it falls with a crash; and I sometimes think, that the noisy bluster we make in determining the measure of our progress from time to time, is the infallible sign of the tottering condition of the structure we are trying to rear.

Let us not, then, be impatient of results. Here, more than anywhere else, a reverence for our subject is absolutely essential; for, as we have seen, we cannot be held down to it, in its comprehensive largeness, by the compelling forces ordinarily to be counted upon in class-room work. The best that can be done, is to start the germ, surround it with the conditions favorable to its growth, and stimulate it by summoning to our aid all the helps which industrious scholarship has placed within our reach. This means, broadly stated, that our supreme concern should be to cultivate a persistent habit of reading, a careful studying, with an open mind and a vigilant eye, of those great models of writing which the consentient judgment of the estate of learning has irrevocably proclaimed to be master-pieces.

Moreover, in our reading and studying, we assuredly need to lay to heart the caution contained in the late Richard Grant White's answer to the question, *How to read Shakespeare?* The way to read Shakespeare, says this eminent Shakespearian, is to read him, and him alone, and not what has been written about him. So it is with the whole body of our literature. To cultivate a right literary feeling, requires that we come into real, direct, and living connection with the soul that animates,

he idea that informs, the thought that glorifies the substance of our written speech.

"The student of literature," then, according to a notion that cannot be improved upon, "is one who through books explores the strange voyages of man's moral reason, the impulses of the human heart, the chances and changes that have overtaken human ideas of virtue and happiness, of conduct and manners, and the shifting fortunes of great conceptions of truth and virtue." It is a rich, attractive, inexhaustible treasure-house that we enter, if our eyes are but open to behold "the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies." It has been sententiously said, "that the end of education, on its literary side, is to make a man, and not a cyclopædia; to make a citizen, and not a book of elegant extracts." As long as we keep well within the profound meaning of this conception, the specific details of our course in practice will be fenced in with an impregnable wall of safety.

Next to religion, literature is the most direct, the most powerful instrument for forming character. "Abeunt studia in mores." Hence it is a life-work; and mellow age, with clarified vision, broadened views, sanctified longings, and ever-deepening convictions, often finds the work but half begun. It is as a life-work that the study of this great subject is to be commended.

In conclusion, it will not be considered out of place if we offer a few words of warning especially applicable to the young: Beware of the elegant trifling that flaunts before the gaze of men the much-abused term of polite letters. Belletristic accomplishments are something more than gaudy ornaments; they are the graces of intellectual culture, the warrant of whose genuineness lies in that all-pervading sentiment of humanity that distinguishes Homer of Ios, Dante of Florence, and Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, not merely as citizens of Greece, and of Italy, and of England respectively, but as citizens of the world. This noteworthy fact lends peculiar sig-

nificance to the old classic phrase, *literæ humaniores*,—the humanities,—apart from its purely technical sense; for “poets, dramatists, humorists, satirists, masters of fiction, the great preachers, the character writers, the maxim writers, the great political orators, are all literature in so far as they teach us to know man and to know human nature;” and in an equally true sense they are literature, too, in so far as they add to the sum of human happiness, contributing to the improvement of human society, particularly domestic society, in contentment, enjoyment, satisfaction, comfort and peace.

Another injunction,—and it comes freighted with the wisdom of Bacon: “Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider.” The world always has need of men who habitually weigh and consider. All great enterprises in the line of human progress, all the epoch-making revolutions and reformatations looking to a higher state of civilized society, all the world-significant crises of history, have, under the overruling providence of God, originated in the intellect of man. The productive power of the mind is most intimately connected with the habitude of contemplation, meditation and reflection; and literature, “rightly sifted and rightly studied,” is the most effective means for the cultivation of these qualities. To ponder what we read is to get a surer insight into, and a juster conception of, “the great moral forces that determine the currents of history;” and this in turn gives us reasonable security in our position—and it is part of the solemn responsibility resting upon educated men everywhere to take a position—relative to the great problems of the day that are pressing for solution. We are not claiming too much for our subject. If we have the ultra-scientists against us, we have the great and the good, those who have done the most for the world’s betterment, on our side.

We are born into an incomparable heritage of language and literature. It is ours to possess, ours to enjoy, ours to preserve. Let us not sell it for a mess of pottage. Breadth and

elegance of scholarship, purity of taste, clearness of thought and precision of style are plants of slow growth, but of perennial freshness, and their fruit is a joy forever. It is a goodly land; let us enter in and possess it. A boundless expanse stretches out before the view; but the prospect is illumined by "burning and shining lights"—men whose names are writ in glory on "Fame's eternal bead-roll," and to catch from them an enkindling glow is the sufficient evidence that we are within the charmed circle of influences that are ever making for enlightenment.

Acquirements here gained, we repeat, are not merely mental furniture, although they are all this, and of the most useful sort; but they fall short of their true end and significance, save as they are absorbed and deepen into culture. There are still choice fruits to be gathered, "infinite seas to be sailed, infinite depths to be sounded, and infinite heights to be scaled," and though we may never startle the world by the brilliance of our achievement, patient industry and painstaking care are nowhere spurred on by the stimulus of grander possibilities or by the certainty of richer and more lasting rewards.

NOTE.

REFERENCES.—*John Morley*, newspaper report of an address to the students of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, on "The Study of Literature." *Rev. A. W. Jackson*, *Literary World* report of his address to the students of Colby University on "The Scientific Study of Literature." *John F. Genung*, Preface and Introductory Paragraphs of his "Practical Rhetoric."

VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, VOL. I. Report and Papers of the First Annual Meeting, Held in the City of Washington December 28, 1888. Edited by Rev. Samuel Jackson, M.A., Secretary. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press, 1889. Price, \$3.00.

This scholarly-looking paper-bound volume of 270 pages, as its title states—is the first issue of the recently organized American Society of Church History, and its contents are a credit to the Society and the occasion of its first meeting. Besides the proceedings of the organization and first meeting, there are learned papers on a variety of interesting subjects in Church History by some of the leading church historians of America. The organization was formed pursuant to an invitation issued by Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL. D. to those interested in the subject to meet in his house, No. 15 East Forty-third Street, on the evening of Friday, March 23d, 1888, and the first regular meeting after the organization was held in Washington, D. C., December 28th ensuing.

The papers read derive their interest, in large measure, from the nature of the organization and the occasion on which they were read, whilst they commend themselves to all interested in the progress of the interesting science of Church History by their intrinsic scholarly importance and value. It is an honor to America that such a Society should be organized in this country, and the proceedings of this first meeting give promise of the important work which it will accomplish. On the roll of membership are the names of the leading Church historians of this country, at the head of which, as *facile princeps*, we may, without making any invidious comparisons, now place the name of the venerable Dr. Schaff, whose extensive works reflect the highest credit upon the theological scholarship of America. In the list of Honorary Members are the names of celebrated scholars from the British Isles, France, Germany, Italy and Norway, who sent to the Society interesting letters acknowledging their election. Among these we may mention Bishop Lightfoot, Prof. Dr. Creighton, of England; Baron Schickler, Senator Pressense and Rev. Eugene Bersier, of Paris; Prof. Dr. Harnack, of Berlin, Prof. Dr. Reuter, of Göttingen, Ger-

many; and the venerable Rev. Prof. Dr. A. F. Mitchell, of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland. From our Church the names of Rev. Drs. Thomas G. Apple, J. H. Dubbs, J. J. Good, and J. M. Titzel are enrolled as members.

Dr. Schaff was elected president, with vice-presidents, George P. Fisher, D.D. LL.D., of Yale University, James C. Moffat, D.D., of Princeton Theological Seminary, Bishop A. C. Coxe and A. H. Newman, D.D. LL.D., Toronto, Canada. Secretary, Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, New York City.

The first paper was read by Dr. Schaff, on the Progress of Religious Freedom as shown in the History of Toleration Acts; and following this, Indulgences in Spain, by Henry Charles Lea, Philadelphia, Pa.; A Crisis in the Middle Ages, by Dr. Moffat, of Princeton; Melancthon's "Synergism," by Rev. Frank Hugh Foster, Ph.D., of Oberlin, O.; Some Notes on Syncretism in Christian Theology in the Second and Third Centuries, by Rev. Hugh McDonald Scott, D.D., of Chicago Theological Seminary; The Influence of the Golden Legend on Pre-Reformation Culture History, by Rev. Ernest Cushing Richardson of the Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.; Notes on the New Testament Canon of Eusebius, by Rev. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph.D., Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, O.; and A Note on the Need of a Complete Missionary History in English, by Rev. S. M. Jackson, M.A., New York.

We give this complete list of the topics of the papers, as indicating the scholarly character of the work done, and to be done, by the Society. Our limits will not allow of further notice of them in detail. We have good hopes of the good work which will be accomplished by this Society. It will aim to advance the science of Church History by such special study and investigation as Dr. Harnack points out as necessary in his Inaugural Address in Berlin. Historical Theological Science, it is said, along with Biblical Exegesis, are coming to the front in our Theological Seminaries, and receiving the interest and attention that used to be given especially to Dogmatic Theology, which no longer ranks at the head in the departments of the Theological Encyclopedia.

This work, and those that may be expected to follow it, will no doubt be sought for, and studied with interest, by the ministers and theological students of our own as well as of other Churches.

THE TESTS ON THE VARIOUS KINDS OF TRUTH; BEING A TREATISE OF APPLIED LOGIC. Lectures Delivered Before the Ohio Wesleyan University on the Merrick Foundation. By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., D.L., Ex-President of Princeton College, N. J. Second Series. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1889. Price, 70 cents.

A clear little treatise, well calculated to help honest thinkers to pass safely the shoals and quicksands of Agnosticism. "It used to

be called nescience, which maintains that nothing can be known, and nihilism, which holds that there is nothing to be known." It is an absurdity in its very title, for if a man can know, or be certain of, nothing, he certainly cannot be certain of this, that he cannot know anything. It asserts that we can know nothing of the infinite—of God—but how then has it come to know this negative truth? Of *whom* can we know nothing? The Agnostic says, *of God*. But what, or who, is God? He replies, "I do not know." How, then, I ask, do you know that man can know nothing of Him? One might as well say, "man can know nothing of an island;" but he must know something of an island in order to assert that. Yes, Agnosticism is an absurdity on its face, but it is a spectre, a deception, and in attacking it one strikes a ghost, a deception, and his blows produce no effect. Dr. McCosh says: "It is well known that when we see a solid object through and beyond a spectre the spectre melts away and disappears. So it will be with Agnosticism—it will vanish when we fix our eyes upon the truth."

This little book, therefore, very properly devotes itself to set forth positive truth, and leaves Agnosticism to take care of itself.

The first chapter treats of "Truths to be assumed," the second, of "Discursive or Deductive Truth," the third of "Inductive Truths," the fourth of "The Joint Dogmatic and Deductive Method," and the fifth of "Testimony. Is it sufficient to prove the Supernatural?" From this it may be seen that the lectures are designed to bear finally on the Evidences of Christianity. The work is clear and forcible and may be studied with interest and profit by all who are concerned in regard to the foundations of our knowledge, whether of the natural or supernatural.

THE HUMAN MORAL PROBLEM. An Inquiry into some of the Dark Points connected with the Human Necessities for a Supernatural Saviour. By R. R. Conn. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1889. Price, 75 cents.

This book of 69 pages is written in the form of a catechism, or question and answer, and is intended to render more intelligible some points connected with human Redemption. One point which the author emphasizes is that attention should be directed more than it is to the positive side. Stress is usually laid, he thinks, too much upon the negative side, the mere deliverance from sin, or the forgiveness of sin, while the preparation of man for a positive higher life is too much overlooked.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. Five Lectures delivered before the Ohio Wesleyan University on the Foundation of Rev. Frederick Merrick. By Rev. Daniel Curry, LL. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranstons & Stowe. Price, 70 cents.

The acknowledged scholarly ability and earnest spirit of Dr. Curry are sufficient guarantee that these lectures, on an important

and practical subject, are possessed of more than ordinary interest. They were delivered before a University, and are designed especially for students. Their tendency and bearing, like those of the second series, by Dr. McCosh, are apologetic. In this skeptical age, it was felt by the founder of these courses of lectures, the minds of students should be fortified against the inroads of infidelity.

Dr. Curry aims to show that education and Christianity should go hand in hand, in other words, that education should be Christian.

ESSAYS ON BIBLICAL GREEK. By Edwin Hatch, M.A., D.D., Reader in Ecclesiastical History, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1889. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, \$2.75.

The essays contained in this volume by a distinguished Oxford scholar are seven in number, and are respectively entitled: "On the Value and Use of the Septuagint," "Short Studies of the Meanings of Words in Biblical Greek," "On Psychological Terms in Biblical Greek," "On Early Quotations from the Septuagint," "On Composite Quotations from the Septuagint," "On Origen's Revision of the LXX. Text of Job," and "On the Text of Ecclesiasticus." They consist of the substance of the lectures delivered by the author during his terms of office as Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint, and are designed "to point out to students of sacred literature some of the rich fields which have not yet been adequately explored, and to offer suggestions for their exploration." All of the essays give evidence of careful and thorough scholarship, and will prove highly serviceable to those who would critically and thoroughly study the Sacred Scriptures. The second essay, especially, will be found an attractive and helpful study of a number of important New Testament words. The work is one which deserves a place in every well-educated minister's library.

DARWINISM. An Exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection, with Some of Its Applications. By Alfred Russell Wallace, LL.D., F.L.S., etc. With Maps and Illustrations. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889. Price, \$1.75.

This book presents a masterly review of modern Darwinism. "It treats the problem of the Origin of Species," we are told in the preface, "on the same general lines as were adopted by Darwin; but from the standpoint reached after nearly thirty years of discussion, with an abundance of new facts and the advocacy of many new or old theories." Mr. Wallace, in his preface, also further says: "Although I maintain, and even enforce, my differences from some of Darwin's views, my whole work tends forcibly to illustrate the overwhelming importance of Natural Selection over all other agencies in the production of new species. I thus take up Darwin's earlier position, from which he somewhat receded in

the later editions of his works, on account of criticisms and objections which I have endeavored to show are unsound. Even in rejecting that phase of sexual selection depending on female choice, I insist on the greater efficacy of natural selection. This is pre-eminently the Darwinian doctrine, and I therefore claim for my book the position of being the advocate of pure Darwinism."

The work is written in a remarkably clear and attractive style, and on every page gives evidence of the author's thorough knowledge of his subject. Those who would know what Darwinism really is, and on what kind of evidence it rests, should by all means acquaint themselves with the contents of this volume.

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Wallace says: "We thus find that the Darwinian theory, even when carried out to its extreme logical conclusion, not only does not oppose, but lends a decided support to, a belief in the spiritual nature of man. It shows us how man's body may have been developed from that of a lower animal form under the law of Natural Selection; but it also teaches us that we possess intellectual and moral faculties which could not have been so developed, but must have had another origin; and for this origin we can only find an adequate cause in the unseen universe of Spirit."

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. By the Rev. Professor G. G. Findlay, B.A., Headingley College, Leeds. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. Price, \$1.50.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES. By the Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham; formerly Fellow and Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford; Author of "The Church of the Early Fathers," and Editor of "The Gospel and Epistles of St. John," etc. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. Price, \$1.50.

These two volumes belong to the series known as "The Expositors' Bible," some of the earlier volumes of which have heretofore been favorably noticed in the pages of this REVIEW. Both works are possessed of superior merit, and will be found very valuable helps to the right understanding of those portions of sacred Scripture of which they treat. They are not commentaries, but consist of expository lectures, in which the latest results of the best scholarship are presented in a clear, forcible and highly attractive and edifying manner. All the volumes of the series so far published are of a high order and deserve to be widely circulated and carefully read. Each volume is complete in itself; but those who purchase one volume will be likely to want the rest also. For our part, we value the series very highly.

THE MAN OF GALILEE. By Atticus G. Haygood. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1889. Price, 80 cents.

This work is not a "Life of Christ," but an argument to show that He really existed and that He cannot properly be classed as a

mere man. The first point the author proves by showing that the Evangelists could not have invented Jesus, as no dramatist can draw taller men than himself and they were neither good nor great enough to describe the Jesus whom they portray if He had never existed; and by still further showing that He is not an ideal Jew of the time of Tiberius, nor the product of myths. The second point it is sought to establish by calling attention to the fact that in His spirit, His method of thought, His teaching and His whole course of life He differed materially not only from ordinary men but from the greatest of other men. The conclusion at which the author accordingly arrives is, that Jesus is indeed none other than "the Christ, the Son of the living God." In the course of argument thus pursued there is nothing specially new, but the argument itself is presented in an unusually clear and convincing manner. The book is therefore admirably suited to meet the wants of those who are disposed to doubt and to strengthen the faith of believers. It ought to find a place in every Sunday-school library. Ministers, moreover, can find nothing better to place in the hands of those who are inclined to be skeptical as regards the person and work of Christ.

THE SERMON BIBLE, Psalm lxxvii to Song of Solomon. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. 1889. Price, \$1.50.

This forms the third volume of the Sermon Bible. In noticing the second volume in the July number of this Review for the present year we described the nature of the work. It is therefore only necessary now to say that the present volume possesses the same characteristics and merits that are possessed by the preceding volumes. Rightly used it may be made to serve a very good purpose. Of its kind it is a work of superior value.

SEVEN THOUSAND WORDS OFTEN MISPRONOUNCED. A Complete Hand-book of Difficulties in English Pronunciation, including an Unusually Large Number of Proper Names and Words and Phrases from Foreign Languages. By William Henry P. Phye, Member of the American Philological Association, etc., etc. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press. 1889. Price, \$1.25.

Pronunciation, it has been well said, is the most obvious test of general culture. It is, therefore, a matter of real importance to every person who would be considered well informed to know how to pronounce correctly the words which he makes use of in addressing his fellow-men. Of the many books published especially to give assistance in this matter, we know of none superior to the one whose title is given above. In it the list of words to which attention is directed is more complete, and the number of proper names whose pronunciation is given is larger than in any other similar book that has come under our notice. Unusual care has

- also been taken so to indicate the correct pronunciation of the different words as to leave no shadow of doubt as to what it really is. We commend the work, therefore, to all our readers as one which it will be very convenient to have always within easy reach. A frequent examination of its pages will be both interesting and serviceable.

THE SALT-CELLARS. Being a Collection of Proverbs, together with Homely Notes thereon. By C. H. Spurgeon. Three things go to the making of a proverb: Shortness, Sense and Salt. A. L. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1889. Price, \$1.50.

For many years Mr. Spurgeon has published a sheet almanac known as "John Ploughman's Almanack," containing a proverb for every day in the year, and intended to be hung up in workshops and kitchens. In the book before us, these proverbs are now collected together and published in a more permanent form so that they may be resorted to and found helpful by teachers and speakers. The notes are made up, as a rule, of other proverbial expressions and are designed to give hints as to how the proverbs may be used by those who are willing to flavor their speech with them. It is scarcely necessary to say that the book is an exceedingly interesting one and chock-full of highly important instruction. It is indeed a book which should find a place in every family, and especially in every teacher's library. In it much of the wisdom of the ages will be found.

THE PEOPLES' BIBLE: Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London; Author of "Ecce Deus," "The Paraclete," "The Priesthood of Christ," "Springdale Abbey," "The Inner Life of Christ," "Ad Clerum," "The Ark of God," "Apostolic Life," "Tyne Childe," "Weaver Stephen," "Every Morning," etc., etc. Vol. X. 2 Chronicles, xxi.—Esther. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers, 18 and 20 Astor Place. 1889. Price, \$1.50.

The rapidity with which the volumes of this work follow one another is truly wonderful. Still more wonderful is the sustained power of thought and expression which is manifest in each succeeding volume. There is no falling-off in any respect, but the same fertility of conception, aptness of illustration and brilliancy of rhetoric which characterized the first volume, characterizes also the present volume. In view of the freshness and suggestiveness of the contents of the different volumes, we are not surprised to learn that the number of the admirers of the work is steadily increasing. It is especially deserving a place in the family library and admirably suited to supply the wants of Sunday-school teachers.

CHRISTIAN MANLINESS, and Other Sermons. By John Rhey Thompson, D. D., of the New York Conference. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1889. Price, \$1.00.

This volume consists of twenty-one sermons and receives its name from the first seven, which treat more or less directly of Christian Manliness, the soul of which the author holds is expressed by the words, truth, genuineness, reality, sincerity. Of the remaining sermons the following are especially noteworthy: namely those on "The Identification of Divinity with Humanity," "The Great King in Disguise," "The Greatness of Jesus," "Law in the Spiritual Realm," and "The Christian Heaven." All the sermons in the volume, however, are of more than ordinary merit and admirably designed to awaken a love for Jesus, and consequently, a love for holy living. For the latter is always the result of the former, and one of the special merits of these sermons is that they set forth Christ continually as "the chiefest among ten thousand" and as the one "altogether lovely."

